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HOWARD KENDALL SANDERSON

HOWARD KENDALL SANDERSON

HOWARD KENDALL SANDERSON

Lynn in the Revolution

COMPILED FROM NOTES

GATHERED BY

HOWARD KENDALL SANDERSON

IN TWO PARTS

PART I



W. B. CLARKE COMPANY

26 AND 28 TREMONT STREET

BOSTON

1909

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BY CARRIE MAY SANDERSON

No 53

1419151

“Happy, thrice happy, shall they be pronounced hereafter who have contributed anything, who have performed the meanest office in erecting this stupendous fabric of Freedom and Empire on the broad basis of independence, who have assisted in protecting the rights of human nature, and establishing an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all nations and religions.”—*Washington's Address to the Army, April 18, 1783.*

Preface

OUR country is still young. Its story may yet be told from the beginning, and may hold for its children of to-day the freshness and reality of a few yesterdays ago. It is not difficult for the mind to compass the whole history of our wonderful nation and to bring distinctly and vividly to view the small beginnings, the sure growth, the gathering tide of events which made of the American Colonies one of the great world powers. Yet the onward march has been so swift, the planting and rearing and maintaining has been so earnest and so eager, great men and brilliant leaders have come so swiftly upon the scene, that we have often been in danger of letting slip into forgetfulness the quieter work and the humbler lives, without which the solid foundations could never have been laid. It is only as we feel ourselves a part of a great and noble whole that its purposes and fortunes become more precious to us; and if our own fathers wrought, however obscurely, in the building of a noble structure, it becomes an especial delight to preserve the record and to hand it on to those who may come after us.

When we find that we are able to weave into the history of our great country—that history which has been written and rewritten until it has become a familiar household story—the little family traditions, the hopes, the fears, the struggles of the locality in which we live and in which our ancestors played their part, there is awakened in us a new interest, if not a new patriotism,

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and we are eager to share with others our pleasure and our enthusiasm. Such, at least, was the experience of him who gathered the material for the local story of the Revolution, which is told in the pages of this book.

The discovery that in the hands of a descendant of the Revolutionary soldier, Henry Hallowell, of Lynn, there was a complete narrative of the experiences of that patriotic townsman as a soldier, written by himself,—a narrative which had never been published,—suggested to Mr. Sanderson the idea that there might be enough of interest in it to warrant its publication. That alone was the extent of the plan which at first presented itself to his mind. But a careful reading of the manuscript revealed the fact that names and events were mentioned which were not commonly known, and which led to inquiries and the gleanings of additional facts, until paths for investigation seemed to open in all directions and it became an absorbing interest to follow them. As new facts came to light, the conviction grew that these, added to the Hallowell narrative, would make a story of unusual interest to the descendants of old Lynn. For three years Mr. Sanderson employed the leisure snatched from a multitude of cares in gathering the material for this story, and it was with untiring interest that he searched the records of the nation, the state, and the neighboring towns for the names of Lynn soldiers. Many of the descendants of the soldiers themselves were able to give him much desirable information regarding them, and a few individuals aided him constantly in his work,—notably Miss Harriet L. Matthews, the city librarian, who with unfailing courtesy and sympathy not only placed at his disposal the valuable historical records of the Lynn

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Public Library, but also often added data which she herself had gathered. Mr. Frank E. Swain frequently accompanied him on his pilgrimages, and by his work with the camera made it possible to obtain the hitherto unpublished portraits and the facsimiles of documents which are now presented for the first time.

When the autumn day came, in 1904, when he who had planned so much must lay down his pen for the last time, the work which had become so dear was unfinished, the purpose which had grown so full and clear was unfulfilled, and had to be laid aside with all the plans and purposes of a strong and active life. The abundant sheets were put away for many days, but, when at length they were again gathered together, it was found that, incomplete though the work must now be, it was not impossible that something of the original plan might still be carried out. The first draft of the Lexington Chapter and the Captain John Mansfield Chapter had been made, many of the biographical sketches had been written, the Lexington companies had been completed, and multitudes of notes were ready for arrangement and for verification, together with a clearly indicated outline for the completion of the work. That outline has been as closely followed as possible, and the story has been woven together as connectedly as might be in the book which is now given to the public. It is inevitable that some inaccuracies should creep into a work of this kind. A few dates may be found which are incorrect, but they are such as could not be corrected until their publication discovered the few persons who might be able to make them right.

If in the reading of the book there is awakened some

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slight degree of the interest and pleasure which were its inspiration, the reward will be sufficient for thus putting into enduring form the result of many days of patient research and labor given by one who loved Lynn, the city of his adoption, and who died here on the fourteenth of December, 1904.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

STANDING to-day upon one of the pleasant hillsides of Lynn and looking out over the busy and populous city, we realize how great have been the changes since the first five families came from the mother country and took up their abode on the "faire level plain" before us. Our city lies close to the sea, facing the waters of Massachusetts Bay, and stretches back to a range of heavily wooded hills, covered now, as in the days of the first settlers, with a growth of oak, pine, and maple. From these hills, the highest in Essex County, the eye reaches westward to Mount Wachusett, south to the Blue Hills of Milton, and northeast to the headlands of Cape Ann. In front the winding shore reveals Hull, Scituate, and Hingham. Boston, to the southwest, is distinctly located by the glittering dome of the State House; and the islands which dot its harbor, even to Minot's Ledge, are within view, their numerous lights at night gleaming with kindly beacons to the ships coming in from the sea. It is only as we look out over the unchanging waters of the Atlantic that we can think of the scene as the same which met the eyes of our Puritan ancestors. There Nahant, with the same long sandy beach which New England's first historian, William Wood, mentions as sheltering the little harbor of Lynn, and old Egg Rock, lie as peacefully before us as when Nahant was only used by the white settlers for the "pasturage of young cattle, goats, and swine."

Turning from the sea and glancing landward, to the

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right, the winding Saugus River still follows its ancient course and, bordered by hill and valley, flows down to the bay. At the back of the city, nestled among the wooded hills, are its series of pleasant ponds and lakes.

It is not the purpose of this book to enter into a description of the early settlement of Lynn in detail, but, that there may be a background for the narrative which is to follow, it may be well to sketch briefly a few outlines. We may take it for granted, perhaps, that while various motives may have led our forefathers to cross the Atlantic and risk life and fortune in a new and untried country, the one which stood before all others was the desire to found an asylum where religious liberty might be enjoyed. Why this should have seemed to them necessary, why it was not possible for them to remain in old England, dear to them through every association, is a story which has been often told, and would take us back through a hundred years and more of the history of Europe. It is enough that through many troubled years a readjustment of religious thinking had been taking place in England, together with the advance in science and art and letters. The number had been growing constantly larger of those who felt that they could no longer conscientiously conform to the usages of the Church. Non-conformists they became, perforce, and the most radical among them chose exile rather than submission to requirements which savored to them of popery and idolatry. Thus some of these people, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were to be found in Holland, and a little later, braving the hardships of winter, on the shores of America, encompassed about by famine, disease, and a savage foe. They were separa-

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tists in thought and reality from the Church of their native land. Fanatics, persistent and disloyal, they were considered, although some of them were among the most learned and heretofore most honored among their countrymen. Only a few, however, were in that brave little band at Plymouth. The great majority of friends and sympathizers to some extent in the new movement remained in England, not yet ready to separate from the mother Church. It is plain, however, that for long there was in the minds of these earnest men the purpose to some day plant in America another colony where they themselves might put into practice, unmolested, their religious views. Not that none came to these shores with the idea of settling. From the time of the planting of the Plymouth Colony until the foundation of the one which most nearly interests us,—quoting from Mather's "Magnalia,"—"There were more than a few attempts of the English to people and improve the parts of New England which were to the northward of New Plymouth. But the designs of these attempts being aimed no higher than the advancement of some worldly interests, a constant series of disasters confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity." He refers, no doubt, to those settlements which were made to further the fishing interests of the London merchants, the chief of which, probably, being the one at Cape Ann, and which lasted for a year or more. A few of the more industrious and honest of the men of that plantation did, indeed, remain and become permanent settlers, although not at Cape Ann, but "some four or five leagues further south to Nahum-Keike,"—a quaint rendering of our familiar "Naumkeag."

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The little company of men who established themselves at Nahum-Keike laid the foundation on which the next colonies were built; yet because they came unofficially as it were, and were overshadowed by the superior condition of those who soon followed them, it is not the name of their governor, Roger Conant, which stands out most prominently in the records, but that of "Master Endicott a man well known to divers persons of good note," appointed and sent over a little later by the Massachusetts Bay Company, in England. Master Endicott with his men arrived at Naumkeag in September, 1628, and, uniting with the planters already there under Roger Conant, made a company of "not above fifty or sixty persons," who were the pioneers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The next year, 1629, a much larger company came with their minister, Francis Higginson, and a colony of some three hundred persons began taking up land and making homes. It was from this band that the first five families came who are recorded as being in that year at "Saugust, now Linne." Their names are given by the historian Alonzo Lewis as Edmund Ingalls, Francis Ingalls, William Dixey, William Wood, and John Wood. Of these, William Dixey, who came from England in the employ of Mr. Isaac Johnson, gives us, according to Mr. Lewis, the authentic statement in regard to their settlement at Lynn. In a deposition in Essex Court, in 1657, he says that upon his arrival at Salem "application was made by him and others 'for a place to set down in; upon which Mr. Endicott did give me and the rest leave to go where we would; upon which we went to Saugust, now Linne and there we met Sagamore James and som other Indians, who did give me and the rest leave to

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dwell there or thereabouts; whereupon I and the rest of my master's company did cutt grass for our cattell, and kept them upon Nahant for som space of time; for the Indian, James Sagamore and the rest did give me and the rest in behalf of my master Johnson, what land we would; whereupon we set down in Saugust, and had quiet possession of it by the abovesaid Indians, and kept our cattell in Nahant the sumer following.'"

Our imagination lingers over those earliest comers longer, perhaps, than over any others who in later days walked the familiar streets of our home town. They came, indeed, to an unknown wilderness, yet we can but think that there was happy expectation along with the undaunted courage which has always been ascribed to them. The company which came with Francis Higginson, viewing the shore from Cape Ann to Salem, must have felt quite differently from that other company which landed at Plymouth on a bleak December day a few years before. This was June,—a New England June,—and in the interesting account which Higginson has left us we read that the little fleet sailed along the coast and saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. He says: "The nearer we came to the shore, the more flowers in abundance, sometimes scattered abroad, sometimes joined in sheets nine or ten yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the meadows by the tide. Now what with fair woods and green trees by land and these yellow flowers painting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunner signals afar off."

Thus, in a word, was the first colony established,—two

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hundred at Salem and the rest disposed about the bay. Those settled at Salem made haste to build houses, and within a short time they had, indeed, "a fair town." Very quickly they formed their church under the good offices of their pastor, Higginson, who says that their greatest comfort and means of defence was that "they could have the true religion, and holy ordinances of Almighty God, with plenty of preaching, diligent catechising, with strict and careful exercise."

The same year of the coming of Higginson and the beginning of Lynn, it was voted by the Massachusetts Bay Company, in England, to transfer the chief government of the colony from England to New England, and preparations were begun for so doing. In another year Governor Winthrop came with his great fleet, fifteen ships, and not far from fifteen hundred persons, very many of whom were "people of rank and good circumstance." Many of these, we know, went to make up the first settlements, in Charlestown, Dorchester, and Watertown, but some tarried at Lynn; and we find for the first time, in 1630, some of the names familiar in the old-time records and no less familiar in our annals to-day. Inasmuch as some of these family names will appear frequently in the succeeding pages, it will be of interest to note here these emigrant ancestors. Edmund and Francis Ingalls, the first settlers, came in 1629. Allen Breed, William Ballard, George Burrill, Edward Baker, John Bancroft, Nicholas Brown, Thomas Chadwell, William Edmunds, John Hall, Adam and John Hawkes, Thomas Hudson, Christopher Lindsey, Thomas Newhall, Robert Potter, John Ramsdell, Edward Richards, and Thomas Willis came in 1630. There arrived in the early

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succeeding years Edmund Farrington, Abraham Belknap, John Pool, Thomas Townsend, Richard Johnson, Samuel Aborn, Hugh and John Alley, Lieutenant Thomas Bancroft, and Andrew Mausfield.

While plantations sprang up around the bay and grew apace, Lynn remained a little community of farmers, and grew but slowly, possibly because there were few "of rank and good circumstance" who made their homes here. Indeed, we know that the men of large estates and those holding office settled elsewhere,—in Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, and Watertown. William Wood, referring to Boston, in 1632, says that "this town although it be neither the greatest nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented, being the center of the plantations where the monthly courts are kept. Here likewise dwells the governor." Johnson, in his *History of New England*, published in London in 1654, speaks of the imposing edifices of the "city-like town of Boston" and of the orderly and comely streets "whose continued enlargement presageth some sumptuous city," while of Lynn he says, at the same time, "Their streets are straight and comely but yet thin of houses." He tells us, in fact, that there were only about a hundred houses for dwelling which were "built remote."

For one hundred and fifty years Lynn continued to be a village of yeomen, who feared God, tilled the soil, and were content with the returns yielded from their labors.

Chapter I

EARLY FAMILIES AND EARLY WARS

WHEN the first settlers came from Salem and decided to "set down" in "Saugust now Linne," a much larger territory was included in the early town than now belongs to our modern city. Reading, Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant, together with what is now Lynn, made up the "Saugust" of the early settlers, Reading only being set off as a separate town before the Revolutionary War. Nor did the first comers find themselves in undisputed possession of this large territory, for there can be no doubt that the Indians were numerous through all the region, many evidences still remaining of their presence here, while tradition and history have preserved their memory through nearly three hundred years. One of their encampments was on land west of Walnut Street and directly beside what is now called Birch Brook. Here, surrounded by hill and valley, on land fertile and productive, by clear springs of water which have remained to this day, they built their wigwams. Mr. Lewis, in his History of Lynn, notices also those in the neighborhood of Sagamore Hill and High Rock and at Swampscott and Nahant. These were all a part of the powerful Pawtucket tribe, of which Nanapashemet, who sometimes lived in Lynn, was chief. The Indian name of Saugus was retained by the settlers for eight years until the General Court at Boston, in 1637, changed the name to Lynn in honor of Lynn Regis, or King's Lynn, in old England. That part which the Indians called "Swamp-

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scott" still bears its ancient name, while Nahant and Saugus and many of the chieftains' names preserve for us the pleasant sounds of the Indian language. As years went by, other names were applied to different localities within the borders of Lynn, and from those names we are able to trace the homes of a few of the early families, although at this late day it would be a difficult matter to locate them all. Such names, however, as Breed's End, Mansfield's End, Gravesend, and Woodend indicate clearly enough the part of the town in which some of them lived, while out of the network of streets which cross and recross our city to-day we are able to trace, from the few ancient and weather-beaten houses which remain, the long roads which in time connected our forefathers with their neighboring towns and with one another. From such ancient landmarks it would seem that the Boston Street of to-day, the old County Road of the fathers, was among the earliest to be laid out. This was the only avenue from Boston to Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth. Over it came the rumbling stage-coach, and to and fro went the commerce of the colony. Entering Lynn from Rumney Marsh, or Chelsea, it ran along under the hills of Saugus, crossed the river by the ford and later by the bridge at the mill, ascended over Willis's Hill, now Tower Hill, continued on up the course of Strawberry Brook to Flax Pond, then turned sharply to the left by the base of Mansfield's Hill, and went on to Salem by way of the present Peabody. Along this road were the homes of many of the first families.

A road connecting Lynn with Marblehead ran from what is now Ocean Street along King's Beach, and so on

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to the ancient seaport. Later a new road was laid out to connect with the same point, now known as Essex Street.

For the interesting story of the development of the little town up to the time of the Revolution, we have but to look in the annals of Lynn as gathered by her loyal sons, Alonzo Lewis and Judge James R. Newhall. Interesting though it would be to review again the principal points in her early history, it seems scarcely necessary to more than touch upon them in a work designed to tell another tale.

We note, in passing, the establishment of laws for the social well-being of the community, for its protection, and for the advancement of its people. We are curiously interested in the peculiar customs and quaint manners which prevailed. We smile at some of the odd characters who played their part on that early stage, and note the large place which the church and school held in the affections of the inhabitants. We find that there were some lapses in morals and violations of the law, which met with quick rebuke and sure punishment. Yet, with it all, the steady march was onward. Hardships there were in a land all new,—hardships which developed all the courage of the founders of Lynn, and made of their sons good soldiers. Troubles with the Indians very soon made it necessary to establish some sort of military rule, and a company was organized in 1630, the officers being appointed by the governor. From this time the town steadily maintained its militia. In the first war with the Pequots, in 1636, Lynn supplied one company, under command of Captain Nathaniel Turner, which did active duty. Upon the breaking out of hostilities in the

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year following, 175 men were raised for a second expedition against the Pequots, of whom Lynn furnished twenty-one. In 1638 the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was formed, Daniel Howe, of Lynn being chosen first lieutenant, and Edward Tomlins and Nathaniel Turner members. In 1642, during the excitement prevailing at the announcement of an outbreak among the Indians, a blockhouse was built, to the west of Birch Brook, the cellar of which may still be located. In 1644 the General Court made provision for the two great guns in town, of which Captain Bridges had the care. In 1645 the General Court ordered that youth, from ten to sixteen years of age, should be exercised on training days in the use of small guns, half pikes, bows and arrows. That military service was compulsory in the early days is shown by the complaint to the Court of Daniel King, in 1637, that his goods had been taken to the amount of fifty shillings by "the captain of ye trayned band of Lynn, for supposed neglect of trayning, he being lame, and willing to find a sufficient man." The Court ordered him to pay fifty shillings for the past and ten shillings annually for the future. In 1658 Lynn, Reading, and Chelsea were authorized to raise a troop of horse and choose their own officers, "provided they be not ferry free, nor have five shillings yearly allowed them from the country, as other troopers have." This was the famous "Three County Troop," so called from the fact that the membership was from towns in Suffolk, Middlesex, and Essex Counties.

In 1675 occurred the famous King Philip's War. The military company in Lynn was commanded by Captain Thomas Marshall, Lieutenant Oliver Purchis, and Ensign

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John Fuller. Fifteen men were impressed from Lynn by order of the General Court, in addition to those who had been previously detached. Their names were Thomas Baker, Robert Driver, Job Farrington, Samuel Graves, Isaac Hart, Nicholas Hitchins, Daniel Hitchins, John Lindsey, Jonathan Locke, Charles Phillips, Samuel Rhodes, Henry Stacy, Samuel Tarbox, Andrew Tarbox, and Isaac Wellman. This company was in the expedition against the Narragansetts and probably in the great Swamp Fight at South Kingston, R.I., Ephraim Newhall being killed there and Andrew Townsend wounded.

Lynn was represented in Queen Anne's War by a considerable number of men. During the French and Indian War she sent a large number to fight for the king. They were in nearly every engagement in the contest, served at Crown Point, at Ticonderoga, were on the Plains of Abraham and on the frontiers. Many of them died, several attained to military rank.

We thus briefly note conditions in the town up to the close of the French and Indian War. The results of that war could scarcely have been of greater importance, and they were felt in the little world around Massachusetts Bay no less than in that larger world outside where the leading nations of Europe were affected by the hard-won victory to the English arms. To quote a recent authority, "The Seven Years' War furnished the opportunity and prepared the way for the American Revolution." The colonies no longer feared their old enemy, the French, on their northern border, and consequently felt less dependent upon the mother country in case of need; their martial training had helped to foster a spirit

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of independence; they felt themselves Englishmen, able now, in peace or war, to take care of themselves.

There have been various opinions in regard to the place where American Independence began, and John Adams is credited with saying that it was in silently listening to the tavern talks among the farmers that he first came to realize that American Independence was inevitable and close at hand. In the traditions of the town meetings of Lynn, in the anecdotes handed down from old stage-coach days, in the numberless writings of old-time inhabitants whose recollections of the little shoemakers' shops have been preserved for us, we have found again and again the breathings of independence. It is these whisperings of independence which it will be our interest to follow until they are lost in the mighty voice gathered from all the colonies; and we shall trace, in so far as may be, the fortunes of the men of Lynn who were led by that voice through the long struggle for liberty.

Application For Town meeting Sep^r 16th 1768

The Inhabitants of this Town are here by
Resolved, to attend a town meeting at the
old meeting house in B. town on Monday 19th
instant at 3 of the Clock after noon
So that the Town will chuse a person or such
Persons as they may think fitt to attend a Con-
vention to be held at Boston at Faneuls Hall
on Thursday the 22^d instant. To Consult just
reasonable & Proper Measures to be Taken
For the Securing the Crown and Govern^{ment}
also the Constitutional Rights & Privileges of the
Inhabitants which they ought to Enjoy by
Charter By order of the Selectmen
Thos. Burrill Town Clerk

It was meeting held in Lynn. Sept. 19th 1768.
Dea. Amil Mansfield chose Moderator of said Meeting.
The town then proceeded agreeable to above Notification
David and Jose Eben Burrill (by a great majority) to attend a
Convention at Faneuls Hall in Boston on Thursday 22^d instant
To consult just Reasonable & proper Measures for the Securing
the Crown and Government: also of Constitutional Rights
and Privileges of the Inhabitants of the Province which they
ought to Enjoy by Charter

Then the Meeting was dissolved

Chapter II

BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION—EARLY PATRIOTIC VOTES OF THE TOWN AND MEASURES TAKEN

IN the autumn of 1768 the first British soldiers arrived in the town of Boston. They were sent by vote of the Parliament of Great Britain in order that the king's rebellious subjects might be overawed. Word reached Boston in September that they were on their way, and the news was not long in travelling over the road to Lynn, for we find that almost immediately the following notification appeared in conspicuous places in the town:—

“Notification For Town meeting Sept. 16th—1768

“The Inhabitants of this Town are hereby Notified, to attend a town meeting at the Old meeting house in sd town on Monday ye 19th Instant at 3 of the Cloek after noon To Se if the Town will chuse a person or such Persons as they may think fitt to attend a convention to be held at Boston at Funks hall on Thursday the 22d Instant. To Consult Just Reasonable & Proper Measures to be Taken For the Securing the Crown and Government & also the Constitutional Rights & Privileges of the Inhabitants which they ought to Enjoy by Charter—By order of the Selectmen

“EBENEZER BURRILL *Town Clerk*”

The meeting was held in due time, with Deacon Daniel Mansfield as moderator, and chose Ebenezer Burrill by a great majority as the delegate.

We are accustomed to the thought that all New England

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was more or less excited by the intelligence of an armed force having arrived on her shores, and every school-boy has studied the history of the stirring times which followed. The names of Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Salem, Concord, and Lexington are inseparably linked in the thought of those times, but we look in vain for the name of "Lynn," the pleasant town lying close to the shore of the bay and in the thoroughfare between Boston and Salem, Marblehead, and Portsmouth. Certain it is that no notable event took place within her borders, and no name of national importance can be credited to her records, yet we need nothing more than the fact of this meeting to realize that she was keenly alive to the welfare of the colony and stood ready to do her share in maintaining it.

We are not able to tell specifically what was done in the little town during the seventeen months that the two obnoxious regiments were quartered in the neighboring town of Boston. We can only imagine that the prevailing topics of conversation by the fireside, on the farm, and in the shop were the all-absorbing ones of the acts of the British ministry, of taxation, of charter rights, of the arrogance of Governor Bernard and the toryism of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson. We have no further record, however, until after the Boston Massacre, when we find, under date of May 24, 1770, the following:—

"1. Voted we will Do our Endeavor to Discountenance the use of foreign tea.

"2. Voted no person to Sustain any office of profit that will not Comply with the above vote.

"3ly. Voted no Taverner or Retaler Shall be Returned to Sessions that will not assist in Discountenancing the use of sd tea & ye Selectmen to give it as Reasons to ye Sessions.

at a Town meeting held in Lynn May 24th 1778
for the Choice of a Representative

Eben^r Burwell was Chose to serve at Court
at Cambridge &c

Capt Samuel Johnson Chose Moderator for the other 1778
1st voted to Chuse a Com-tee to take care of Inseparaments & any of
the Towns Common Land and to Contain to have full
power in all respects as the Com-tee had which the
town Chose in the year 1766 & 1768

Mr John Mansfield } Com-tee
Capt Abner Cheever }
Mr William Farnsworth }

that clause in a warrant Relating to Bohe tea

1 voted we will do our Endeavor to Discountenance
the use of foreign tea

2 voted no person to sustain any office of profit
that will not comply with the above vote

3rd voted No Taverner or Retailer shall be Returned
to Sessions that will not assent to Discountenance
the use of B^r tea - & of Selectmen to give it
as a Reason to y^e Sessions

4 voted unanimously that we will use our Endeavor
to promote our own manufactory amongst us

5th voted a Com-tee be Chose to inspect the conduct
of all Buyers & Sellers of tea in this town and
take Subscriptions according to y^e following

gent men were Chose: Zachary Collings, Edmund
Rufey, John Mansfield, Capt Abner Cheever, Joseph Gorin,
Increase Newhall & Joseph Newhall. Com-tee
to Report to a select men y^e first Monday in July

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“4ly. Voted unanimously that we will use our Endeavor to promote our own manufacturing among us.

“Lastly voted a committee Be chose to Inspect the Conduct of all Buyers & Sellers of tea in this town and take Subscriptions—accordingly ye following Gentlemen wee chose. Zacheus Collins, Salvenas Husey, John Mansfield, Increase Newhall & Joseph Newhall. Committee to report to ye Selectmen ye first Monday in July next.”

This interesting record is found written in the handwriting of the town clerk, Ebenezer Burrill, but unsigned. The hated Stamp Act was indeed a thing of the past, and the two British regiments were withdrawn from Boston, yet there still remained heavy grievances against the government. The fact that a promise had been made that there should be a repeal of all duties except that of the tax on tea was a long way from satisfying the hard-headed and far-seeing colonists, who were contending for a principle. It would seem that in the little community at Lynn there must have been discussed at this time the possibility of armed resistance, for the people were looking to their arms and ammunition, voting in town meeting on the very day of the Boston Massacre that “The Town Stock of Ammunition be moved from ye meeting house. Voted ye Selectmen should have ye care of it and provide some place to Secure ye same as soon as may be.”

We wonder to-day at the short-sightedness and obstinacy of the British ministry during these years of controversy and disagreement between Englishmen on either side of the Atlantic. The inevitable result of its policy, which appears so plain to us to-day, seemed to be at that time discerned only by a Pitt or a Burke. Again and

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again did Lord Chatham come from his retirement back to the House of Lords, and with all the strength of his great mind plead for the colonies, urging that milder measures be taken and greater wisdom and understanding be shown in dealing with Englishmen across the sea. It was only he and a very few others in Parliament who could comprehend the spirit which breathed in every town and hamlet in the thirteen colonies, and could say, "I rejoice that America has resisted." In spite of the debates which took place in Parliament at this time, its policy became more and more vexatious. Nearly every colony suffered in some way. The promise of the repeal of all importation tax, except that on tea, was, indeed, kept in the April following the Boston Massacre, yet on the last day of the spring session of the General Court of Massachusetts the following resolve passed, namely:—

"Whereas by the act of Parliament a duty is levied upon foreign teas imported into this Province, with the express purpose of raising a revenue upon his Majesty's subjects here without their consent, upon which account the use and consumption of foreign teas is prejudicial to the true interest of the Province, Resolved, that the members of this House will use their utmost endeavors to prevent the use and consumption thereof in the several towns to which they belong."

This grievance of taxation was one which affected all the colonies, and, while they were perfectly willing to aid in support of the government, they wished to contribute to its support, and not to be taxed by a government in which they were not represented.

In 1772, according to Fiske, "black thunder clouds

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of war gathered.” On the Records of Lynn at this time the following entry was made:—

“At a Town Meeting Leagely assembled Jany. 6th 1772, Dean. Danil Mansfield chosen Moderator, the Question being put after the papers was Red, Relating to Publick Greaveances the prvince Labours under in Regard to their Rights and Privileges,

“Voted unanimously that this Town will concur in sentiments with the towns of Boston & the Neighboring towns of the Province with regard to our Constitutional and Charter Rights and Privileges.

“Voted to instruct the Representative to stand firm for our Charter wrights and Priviledges.

“Voted to chuse a comittee of Seven men to corespond with comittees of other Towns Respecting the Greavences we do labour under

“Voted Capt. John Mansfield, Majr. Abner Cheever, Deacn. Abijah Cheever, Doer. John Flagg, Dean. Nathanel Bancroft, Salvenas Hussey & Josiah Martain. (Deacn. Danil Mansfield added in martain’s rume.)”

The choosing of this committee indicates how closely in touch were the inhabitants of Lynn with their neighbors in Boston, and how strong was the sympathy between them. The year 1772 marked the formation of the Committees of Correspondence throughout the colonies, the work of which was to draw together by a bond never to be broken people who heretofore had understood little of one another, and had been content to know little of one another.

When in November, 1773, the Committees of Correspondence from the towns of Cambridge, Brookline, Roxbury, Dorchester, and Boston met together in Fan-

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enil Hall to discuss the landing of tea in Boston, they sent out letters to all the other towns in the colony, containing these words:—

“Brethren, we are reduced to this dilemma: either to sit down quiet under this and every other burden that our enemies shall see fit to lay upon us, or to rise up and resist this and every plan laid for our destruction, as becomes wise freemen. In this extremity we earnestly request your advice.”

It was a call which brought the following response from the patriotic townsmen of Lynn:—

“At a meeting of the Freeholders & other Inhabitants (qualified by law to vote) of the town of Lynn, Duly and Legaly assembled on the 16th day of Decr. anno Dom 1773, the following resolves were unanimously past

“That the people on the British American colonies by their constitution of Government have a Right to freedom & an Exemption from Every Degree of oppression & slavery,

“2ly That it is an Essential Right of Freemen to have the Disposal of their own property & not to be taxed by any power over which they have no control,

“3ly that the parliamentary Duty Laid upon Tea Landed in America is in Effect a tax upon the americans without their Consent,

“4ly That the late act of parlement allowing the East India company to land their Tea to America on their own account, was artfully framed for the purpose of Enforcing & carrying into Effect the Oppressive act of Parliment Impousing a Duty upon Teas Imported into America & is a fresh proof of the settled and determined Designs of the ministry to Deprive us of freedom & Reduce us to Slavery,

“5ly Resolved that we highly Disapprove of the Landing & Selling

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of Such Teas in America & will not suffer any Teas' Subjected to a parlymentary Duty to be Landed or sold in this town & that we stand Redy to assist our Brathren at Boston or Elsewhere whenever our aid shall be Required in Repelling all attempts to Land or Sell any Teas poisoned with a Duty.

“And whereas the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston have regerly applied to the persons appointed there by the East India Company to Receive and vent off their Teas Delivered them to Resign their trust but have obstanatly Repeatedly & Daringly Refused

“6ly Resolved that those Consignees have Shown a Ready Disposition to become the tules of a vile & corrupt ministry, Supported by a venal & Tiranical Parlement to oppress & Enslave their Native Country & come under the Same Class of infamous Creatures with the Governors, the Commissioners and their Dependents those of enemies & traitors to their Countrey, have manifested the Stubidity to Sacrifice Liberty to averise, & the wickedness when occasion Shall Serve to Riot on the Spoils of their Brathren & have forfeited their Right to personal protection & Security

“7ly That a tribute of Gratitude from us to the patriotic town of Boston, for the Public Virtue which they have Shown in the opposition which they have made to the ministerial plan for Deluding the americans into a compliance with the Detestable Tea act.

“Votd that the foregoing Resolves Be Entred of the town Records & a Cappy thereof be Delivered to Comittee of Coraspondence to Be Sent to the Comitte of Coraspondance at Boston.”

This meeting, recorded in the handwriting of Ebenezer Burrill, was held on the very date of the famous one in the Old South Meeting-House in Boston, which was followed by the throwing of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into Boston Harbor.

An account of the feeling which prevailed in Lynn at this time would not be complete without repeating the following incident which has come down to us in the

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“Annals of Lynn,” gathered by Mr. Lewis. To use his own words:—

“A report having been put in circulation through the town, that Mr. James Bowler, who had a bake-house and a little shop, on Water-hill, had a quantity of tea in store, a company of women went to his house, demanded the tea, and destroyed it. This exploit was certainly as great a piece of patriotism on their part, as that performed in Boston Harbor the same year, and deserves to be sung in strains of immortality. Slander, however, who is always busy in detracting from real merit, asserted that the women put on extra pockets on that memorable night, which they filled with the fragrant leaf, for their own private consumption.”

A tradition is also preserved of at least two Lynn patriots who figured in the famous Boston tea-party. One was Joseph Roby, son of the Rev. Joseph Roby, of the Second Parish. He was the eldest son, twenty years old at the time, and is given in the list published by Francis S. Drake as “active in the destruction of the tea.” This Joseph was living, some time after the Revolution, in Prince Street, Boston, and in 1819 in Hanover, N.H. The other man, Mr. Francis Moore, though not living in Lynn at the time of the famous tea-party, came here soon after the Revolution, and spent the remainder of his long life here. The *Lynn Record* of August fourteenth, 1833, in a notice of his death gives a short account of the part which he took in the Revolutionary struggle, and speaks of him as one of the few daring individuals who participated in the celebrated act of throwing over the tea in Boston Harbor, giving the interesting information that he appeared on that occasion openly and without disguise, while most of his comrades were dis-

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guised as Indians. He was a baker, and in Cambridge while the army was stationed in that town, and supplied it with bread, selling it at a moderate price, on credit, when it was doubtful whether he would ever receive anything in return. This was particularly noteworthy from the fact that, in consequence of the occupation of Boston by the British, there was a scarcity of bread. His zeal and generous patriotism attracted the special notice of Washington, and at the time of his death, which occurred when he was ninety-three years of age, special mention was made of the fact that his life had been marked throughout by generosity and personal sacrifice.

The Boston Port Bill was passed on the tenth of May, 1774. Governor Gage, arriving in Boston a few days later, wrote home to the Earl of Dartmouth that he found upon his arrival that a "town-meeting was holding to consider of it," and that the act had staggered the most presumptuous, adding that he did not propose to lay anything new before the Assembly, inasmuch as he deemed it better to give the shock they had received time to operate, doubtless believing that it would operate in subduing the rebellious subjects of the king and in causing them to make good to the East India Company the loss of their tea. How mistaken he was, the sequel was to show.

From every colony came letters of sympathy and encouragement to the Correspondence Committee of Boston, while in the neighboring towns indignation knew no bounds. Many a wagon-load of supplies was trundled over the road from Lynn, and many an anxious and indignant meeting was held in the old meeting-house to discuss the situation and to prepare for the contest

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which seemed inevitable. The selectmen were asked to prepare a place or build a house for the town stock of ammunition, and to furnish a sufficient stock as soon as it could be obtained.

One entry which stands out with especial clearness in the old records will illustrate the prevailing sentiment regarding the Boston Port Bill, and may well be given in this place:

“The Freeholders & other Inhabitants of This Town are hereby Notified to attend a town meeting at the old meeting House in sd town on Tuesday, the 28th. of June, 1774, at two of the clock afternoon,

“To Consult upon Proper measures to be Taken by the Town for the Recovery & Restoration of the Rights & Liberties of America Ravished from them by the oppression of the British Parliament and Especially for the Relief of our Metroplas whose trade & Commerce, upon which they Solely Depend for Subsistance is anniolated by the Rigras Execution of the Boston port Bill, the Cruelty & Injustice of which cannot but excit a just Indignation in the Breast of every American.”

“Also to see whether the town will Bear their proportionable part of the Sum of money allowed by the House of Representatives for this province to Defray the Expençe of the Committee appointed by Them to meet upon a Congress of the Collonies and Determin upon a proper method for Dowing the Same.

“By Order of the Selectmen,

“EBENEZER BURRILL, *Town Clerk.*”

A little later the accumulation of grievances resulted in a legal town meeting held on the twenty-second of August, in which the inhabitants expressed themselves in the following words:—

Notification Given June 22^d 1774 —

The Freeholders & other Inhabitants of
This Town are here by Notified to attend
a town Meeting at the Old meeting
House in D^d town. on Tuesday, the 28th
of June instant at two of the Clock after
noon.

To Consult upon Proper measures to be Taken
by the town for the Recovery, & Restoration
of the Rights & Liberties of America
deprived from them by the oppression of
the British Parliament.

and Especially for the Relief of our Metropolis
whose trade & Commerce upon which they
totally Depend for Subsistence is annihilated by
the Rigor Execution of the Boston port Bill
the Cruelty & Injustice of which cannot but
Excite a just Indignation in the Breast of
Every American.

also To be whether the town will Bear their ^{proportion}able
part of the Sum of money allowed by the
House of Representatives for this province. To
Defray the Expence of the Com-tee appointed by
Them to meet upon a Congress of the Colonies
and Determine upon a proper method for
paying the Same.

By Order of the Selectmen

Eben^r Burwill Town Clerk

PAGE FROM TOWN RECORDS

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“Being deeply sensible of the Dangerous State of the Liberties of this Province from the Violent attacks of the British ministry & Parliament who seem Determined in Violation of the Laws of Justice and humanity to make us Subservient to their own Wicked ambitious & Mercenary views, We cannot but be Especially alarmed from the Two Last acts of parliament Whereby our Charter is in part Vacated & the Vitals of our Constitution to be Destroyed—tending to Establish arbitrary Government—and Secure the most atrocious offenders from the Hands of Justice, We cannot but think ourselves warranted by the Laws of Nature which are the Laws of God & by the principles of the Constitution, (which is not to be altered or changed without the Consent of the people) To Secure our Selves against the operation of such Oppressive measures by the Exertion of all the Powers with Which we are Invested,—And it can Never be Consistant with our Duty to Resign ourselves to Sullen Silence or Contented Slavery—and the motion made by the Town of Marblehead, that there be a meeting of the Several Towns of the County By their Respective Delegates to consult upon the present Exigences of our publick affairs therefore we Apprehend to be seasonable & that such a meeting will Probably be attended with many salutary & Happy Consequences Thereof

“Voted that Capt. John Mansfield, Doer. John Flagg & Deac. Daniel Mansfield be Delegates for this town to attend a meeting of the County for the purposes aforesd. that may be held at Ispwich on the 6th day of Sept. next or at any other Place or on any other Day or Days as shall be thought most convenient & Suitable by the other towns of the County.

“Voted that the Thanks of the town be given to the Patriotic town of Marblehead for the Zeal & attention which they have shewn for the support of our most Important Rights and Liberties.”

So far as we know, there was no special excitement attending the appointment of the above committee, as there had been in Salem, two days earlier, when notices

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were posted in the town “desiring the merchants, freeholders and other inhabitants to meet at the town house chamber . . . to appoint deputies to meet at Ipswich.” It appears that Governor Gage had heard that it was the desire of the Committee of Correspondence that the inhabitants of Salem should thus assemble, and, declaring it to be an unlawful and seditious meeting, ordered that the inhabitants be dispersed. In order to enforce his command, he further ordered troops to be in readiness. To quote from the *Salem Gazette* of the twenty-sixth of August, 1774:—

“They prepared accordingly, as if for battle, left their encampment, and marched to the entrance of the town, there halted and loaded, and then about eighty advanced to within an eighth of a mile from the Town House: But before this movement of the troops was known to the inhabitants, and while the Committee were in conference with the Governor, the whole business of the meeting was transacted, being merely to choose delegates to the county meeting. After the meeting was over, news came that the troops were on the march, but they were now ordered to return to the camp.”

The convention of delegates of counties around Boston met at Ipswich, as planned, and, among other things, boldly declared that the acts of Parliament were not entitled to obedience. A month later the first Provincial Congress was convened at Salem, the representatives having been called together by the Governor for a meeting of the General Assembly. The delegates waited at the appointed time for the arrival of the Governor, but he failed to appear. They then resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress. At this Congress we find Ebene-

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zer Burrill and Captain John Mansfield representing the town of Lynn.

This first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, organized at Salem October seventh, adjourning on the eleventh to Concord, and on the fourteenth to Cambridge, continued in session three weeks, and in the record of its deliberations, in its appointment of a Committee of Safety, its provision for the assembling and support of the militia, and its thorough review of the burdens under which the colonies were laboring, we see how well its members realized that they were on the eve of revolution. A Convention of Committees for the County of Worcester, which had been held on the twenty-first of September, had given the first suggestion for minute companies, and the Provincial Congress seems to have extended the idea, for we find it recommending that the companies of militia meet and appoint officers, and, where the regiments were deemed too large, that they be divided, the field officers forming at least one-quarter of the number in the respective companies, into companies of fifty privates, who were to equip and hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice from the Committee of Safety.

Only two records have been preserved affecting the Lynn minute-men, and these, on file in the archives at the State House, are of much interest. The language used in the second vote is a good indication of the contempt with which the Patriots viewed the Tories.

LYNN, Nov. 15, 1774.

“Pursuant to an act of the Provincial Congress, for new regulating the militia, was called a meeting of the first training band in Lynn, the 2d company, 1st regiment in Essex, formerly commanded by Col.

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Wm. Brown, of Salem, having chosen Maj. Abner Cheever, as Chairman, the following votes were passed:

Voted, David Parker as captain.

Voted, John Batts, 1st Lieutenant.

At an adjourned meeting, Jan. 5, 1775,

Voted, John Pool, 2d Lieutenant.

BENJ. PUTNAM, *Clerk.*”

“Agreeably to the advice of the respectable Provincial Congress, the training band company in Lynn, north parish, being a part of the first regiment in the county of Essex, formerly commanded by William Brown, politically deceased of a pestilent and mortal disorder, and now buried in the ignominious ruins at Boston, met on Monday, 15th inst. (Nov. 1774) and after choosing Dea. Nathaniel Bancroft for their chairman, elected Mr. Joseph Gowen, Capt., Mr. Nathaniel Sherman, 1st Lieutenant, and Mr. John Perkins, Ensign.”

After this time we find in the provincial records frequent mention of the minute-men. During the second session of the Congress, in December, 1774, in an address to the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay,—a calm, dignified, carefully prepared document,—we find the following:—

“The improvement of the Militia in general in the Art Military has been therefore thought necessary, and strongly recommended by Congress. We now think that particular care should be taken by the Towns and Districts in this Colony, that each of the Minute-Men, not already provided therewith, should be immediately equipped with an effective Firearm, Bayonet, Pouch, Knapsack, thirty rounds of Cartridges and Balls and that they be disciplined three times a week, and oftener, as opportunity may offer.”

On the fifth of January, 1775, the town of Lynn voted

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that Captain John Mansfield be a delegate to the Provincial Congress to be held at Cambridge, February first. It also voted to approve of the Articles of Association of the Continental Congress, and chose the following committee to carry into execution the resolves of the association: Captain John Mansfield, Dr. John Flagg, Deacon Daniel Mansfield, Benjamin Newhall, Deacon Nathaniel Bancroft, Abner Cheever, and Deacon Abijah Cheever. On the article to see if the town would raise, assist, and encourage the minute-men, agreeable to the advice of Congress, it was voted to postpone the matter until the March meeting. Lynn should here be given the credit of having participated in the first armed resistance to the crown. The story is that on the afternoon of Sunday, February twenty-sixth, Colonel Leslie, with three hundred men, suddenly appeared off Marblehead in a transport. He quietly landed, and took up his march for Salem, where Colonel David Mason had been at work mounting some old cannon taken from the French. The alarm went ahead of the British, however, and, when he arrived, the cannon had been taken across the North River and the draw had been raised. Colonel Leslie demanded that the bridge be swung back, but the inhabitants refused. He then tried to impress some scows which were near by, but the owners scuttled them, and they sank. It is claimed that in the mêlée which followed the first blood of the Revolution was shed. Parson Barnard appeared upon the scene, however, and finally succeeded in inducing Colonel Leslie to withdraw. By the time he began to retreat, reinforcements were arriving on the patriot side, the Danvers company coming upon the run as he turned back. The alarm had

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also reached Lynnfield, where Captain Bancroft had mustered his men, and was hastening to Salem. Before his arrival at the North Bridge, the British had disappeared, and, as he returned home with his men, he intercepted the Reading company, which was on the way. Had a gun been fired at Salem, it might have become the Lexington of the Revolution. As it was, Captain Bancroft lost one man, the first to give his life in the cause of liberty. The following entry appears in the Lynnfield church records:—

“March 9, 1775. Died, Joseph Newhall, by a violent seizure after a few Days Illness suppos’d to be occasioned by a cold taken when he went out upon an alarm, in the 52d year of his age.”

On the sixth of March the town of Lynn voted that—

“When the milit men are Raised, Listed & aquipt they Shall have one shilling for each half Day to Encourage them to meet two half days in a week to Exercise till ye town order otherwise.

“Voted to have three officers a captain and first and second Lieutenants for each company. Each captain shall have 6/ for each two half Days; First and Second Lieuts. 4/ Each for Each two half Days.

“Voted they Be under armes three hours each half day.”

Provision was thus made for the training of men in various companies, but it is doubtful if any degree of proficiency was attained or attempted.

Many of the letters which have been preserved in the old records give such clear utterance to the spirit and temper of the times that one or two quotations may be here given with the assurance that the same electric fire glowing in them charged the air in our small community at Lynn.

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From Thomas Cushing, of Boston, to Arthur Lee, of London: "Our people are prompt and forward in their military exercises. There never was, since we have been a people, such military spirit prevailing as at present."

A letter from another gentleman in Boston contains this:—

"So generally are the principles of liberty disseminated and so deeply fixed, that nothing but arms, that supreme lex of tyrants, will be able to suppress the generous ardor which now stimulates our countrymen to defend, at all hazards, the freedom handed down to them by their ancestors; nor will they be slaves without the most obstinate and bloody contest."

This was at a time when the people of Boston were suffering greatly, not only on account of the effects of the Boston Port Bill, but also from disease which had crept into their midst. This is shown by the following extract from a letter:—

"The small-pox is lurking about in different parts of the town, and it is apprehended will spread. A pestilential fever prevails in the army, which is even more dreaded than the small-pox. How distressful is the state of Boston! Surrounded and insulted by a numerous fleet and army; shut out from trade; and deprived of all advantages of law process!"

Meantime, both in Parliament and in Boston more decisive measures were being taken to force the colonists into submission. Parliament was planning to send Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne to America with six thousand troops. Governor Gage was acquainting himself more and more with conditions throughout the colony. In February he sent two men through the coun-

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ties of Suffolk and Worcester, with instructions to note the condition of roads and passes, to mark distances from town to town, to report the situation of rivers, mountains, and woods, and advantageous spots to take post in, as well as what supplies could be obtained in the several townships. What wonder that the Committee of Safety and Supplies held frequent meetings, and was actively engaged in gathering arms and ammunition, and storing it in places of safety, ready for use when needed!

On the first of April the colonists knew that a large reinforcement of troops was expected in Boston, and the third Provincial Congress, then in session in Concord, perfected its "Rules for the Army,"—a lengthy document, containing fifty-three articles. Before the nineteenth of April two delegates had been sent to each of the New England colonies, carrying the following resolve:—

"That the present dangerous and alarming situation of our publick affairs, renders it necessary for this Colony to make preparations for their security and defence by raising and establishing an Army, and that delegates be appointed forthwith to repair to Connecticut, to Rhode Island and New Hampshire, informing them that we are contemplating upon and are determined to take effectual measures for that purpose, and for the more effectual security of the New England Colonies and the Continent, to request them to co-operate with us, by furnishing their respective quotas for general defence."

How quick and general was the response was shown not many days after, when from all over New England men gathered and marched on the Lexington alarm.

Chapter III

THE LEXINGTON ALARM IN LYNN

THE town of Lynn, together with every village and hamlet in New England, was prepared for the opening scenes of the Revolutionary War. It is true that the militia was untrained and poorly equipped, yet it was not wholly so, and it is certain that the conviction was as strong here as elsewhere that the cause of the colonies was a righteous one, and the inhabitants were as determined to resist to the last the unjust measures of the British ministry. Aside from the Quaker families, who refused steadfastly to fight or pay the attendant expenses incurred by the town, it may safely be said that nearly every home in Lynn sheltered a militia or minute man, and in many cases every male member of the family of sufficient age to shoulder a musket was ready for action. If we cannot now point to the patriotic utterances of Rev. John Treadwell, the pastor of the old First Church, or of Deacon Daniel Mansfield, the sturdy moderator of the town meeting, the ringing resolutions transcribed by the pen of Ebenezer Burrill, the town clerk, we are assured voiced the sentiments of them all.

Let us look over the little town as it appeared on the eve of the conflict.

It should be remembered that Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant were parts of Lynn in 1775, the two former being separate parishes only. Three years before the population had been set down as 2,100, including 465 polls. Valuation of property was under

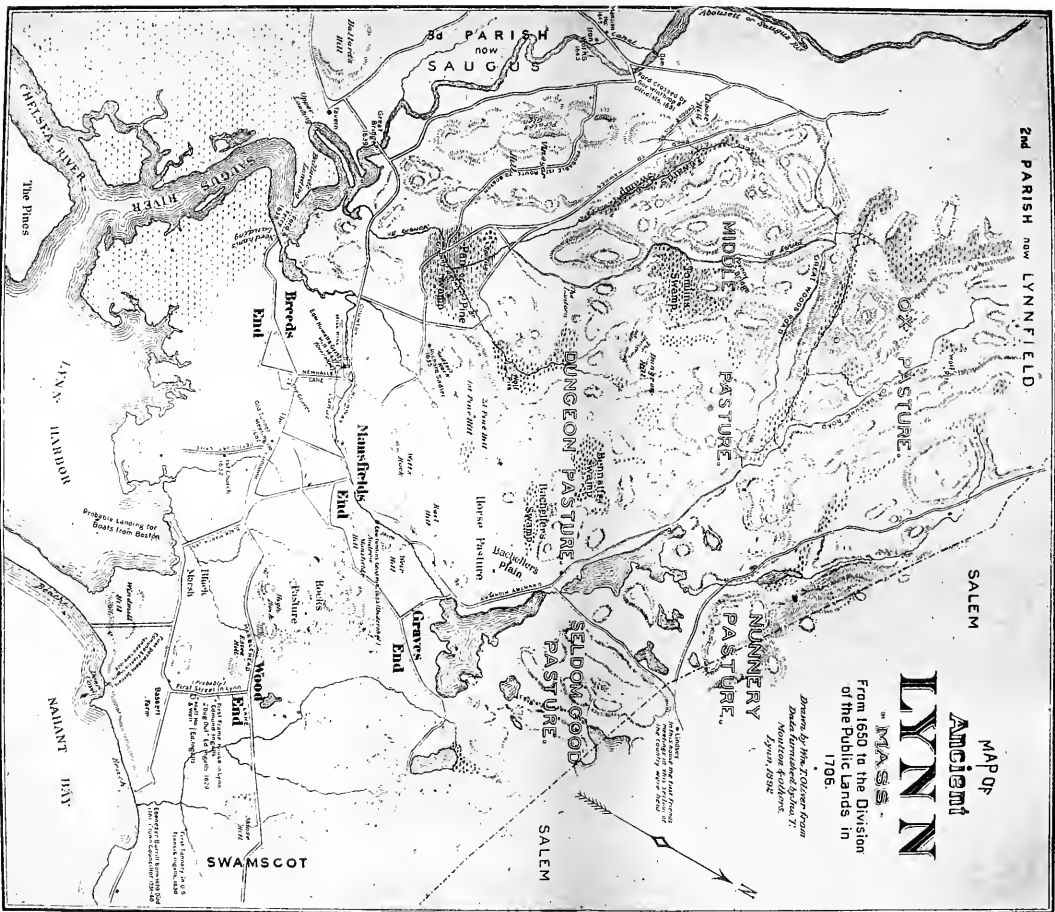
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£30,000, and there were less than 150 dwellings. Lynn Common was an unfenced field, little better than an open pasture, over which teams crossed at will. Farm-houses were scattered along its sides, and the "Old Meeting-House," as it was invariably called in the records, stood in the middle, opposite and facing Petticoat Lane, now Shepard Street. A brook crossed at the point where Harwood Street now turns off, and near it was the home of Nathan Attwill, in a house which is still standing and now numbered 35 Whiting Street. Mall Street was Lucy Newhall's Lane, and a cart-road ran from what is now Park Street to Mill Street, now Strawberry Avenue. Franklin Street was then called the Townway, and leading from it was Grass Lane, now Leighton Street. At the lower end of the Common, Market Street turned to the right, and Marblehead Lane, now Essex Street, to the left. A little further on was Black Marsh Lane, now lower Union Street. Broad and Lewis Streets of to-day made then scarcely more than a rambling cart-path, connected with the County Road, the present Boston Street, by Fresh Marsh Lane, now Chestnut Street. Woodend, like the western section of the town, consisted of scattered farms, with a rough path through the fields where we now have Fayette Street. The old County Road, however, was the main thoroughfare of the town, and boasted the chief residences. It was connected with the farms at Breed's End by Rhodes's Lane, the Federal Street of to-day. The turnpike, or Western Avenue, had not been laid out. It is probable that Lynn proper had at that time eighty or ninety homes, and Lynnfield and Saugus about twenty-five each. Nahant had but one or two habitations, and Swampscott was included in Lynn



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2nd PARISH now LYNNFIELD.

SALEM

MAP OF
Ancient
LYNN

From 1650 to the Division
of the Public Lands in
1706.

*Drawn by the Surveyor General
Dated & finished by him 7th
November 1706
1706*

Lynn in the Revolution

proper. There were no school-houses, and one or two stores sufficed for the needs of all. The Old Tunnel Meeting-House was the forum, and contained the only pulpit. The products of the farm supplied most of the needs of the people, and the little shoemakers' shops gave the simple cordwainers a chance to procure enough ready money to buy what the farm could not produce.

There were probably four hundred and seventy-five men of all ages in the town. Deducting from this number the old and disabled, together with those whose religious scruples would not allow them to participate, there could not have been over three hundred and fifty men ready for service when the War for Independence opened. It will be shown, however, that before the war closed nearly five hundred men had enlisted and fought, to the credit of the town of Lynn. This resulted because the boys, as soon as they became old enough, went into the service. By reference to the personal sketches which will follow, it may be noticed that Daniel Watts enlisted, and was actually borne on the rolls of Washington's army at the age of twelve, while scores of Lynn boys were seasoned Continentals at fifteen. This fact alone speaks well for the patriotism and courage of the inhabitants.

Situated in close proximity to Salem, where there were so many Tory merchants and sympathizers, it is also a fact well worth noting that not a single instance has been found recorded of a Tory in Lynn, and no case where an unpatriotic "towny" was made to swear allegiance to his country.

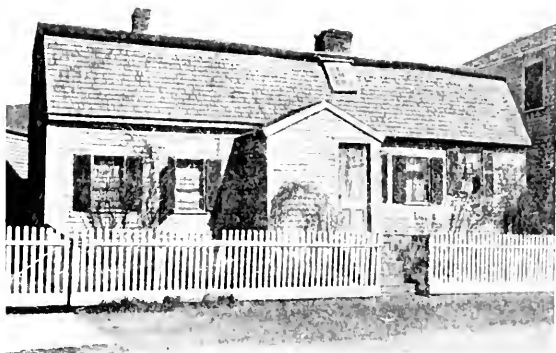
It may not be out of place to allude to the business of shoemaking as it was carried on in the town in 1775.

Lynn in the Revolution

The industry had been introduced in a small way by Philip Kertland, who came to Lynn in 1638, but it had gained little headway until 1750, when John Adam Dagyr, a Welshman and a practical shoemaker, made his appearance. His skill and energy gave such an impetus to the business of manufacturing ladies' shoes that they undoubtedly laid the foundation of the great and thriving business which has ever since characterized Lynn. Indeed, he secured such a reputation during his lifetime that the *Boston Gazette* in 1764 alluded to him as "the celebrated shoemaker of Essex." His patriotic service in the Revolution and his death in poverty will be spoken of later. Under the stimulating influence of Dagyr nearly every male inhabitant of the town began to turn his hand, in a greater or less degree, to the manufacture of shoes. The little square shoe-shop sprang up by many a farm-house, and, while the plough and scythe were kept busy in the field in summer, the pounding of the lap-stone and the drawing of the wax thread kept the men-folk equally busy in the shop in winter. Their quaint wills, on file at the Court House in Salem, invariably indicate that they were "yeomen and cordwainers." Their shoes were sold in Boston and Salem, whither they were carried on horseback at the end of the week. It may be safely said that in 1775 Lynn had already a reputation as a shoe manufacturing town not exceeded by any in the colonies.

Let us, at this point, note the location of a few of the patriotic homes from which many young men were soon to go forth in their country's defence.

The houses of the Revolutionary period were of plain and dignified architecture, varying somewhat in style,



JEDEDIAH NEWHALL HOUSE, BOSTON STREET

Lynn in the Revolution

but always showing the simple lines which are becoming so universally recognized as good. Many of the Lynn houses were small, seldom were they referred to in the wills as "my mansion house," yet all, whether large or small, were comfortable and homelike. In one of these, on the northerly side of Boston Street, opposite the present Hudson Square, lived James Newhall, or "Squire Jim," as he was called in later years. Beyond, on the same side, lived Benjamin Hudson, from whom the square was named. On the top of Tower Hill, on the opposite side, stood the Burrill house, demolished twenty-five years ago, the home at the time of John Burrill, later familiarly known as "Colonel John," to distinguish him from three others of the same name. Near Cottage Street, on the same side, an ancient house, still standing, marks the one-time home of Calley Newhall, who made powder for General Washington. On the corner of Wyman Street was the home, demolished in 1902, of Captain Ezra Newhall. Beyond, on the same side, was that of the Burchsteads, ancestors of Benjamin Burchstead Johnson. Between Flint and Childs Streets lived Allen Newhall and his two sons, Daniel Allen Breed and Charles. In the quaint, little, gambrel-roofed house, between Kirtland Street and Sargent's Court, lived Jedediah Newhall. In the old house on the corner of North Federal Street, or Hart's Lane, lived Lieutenant Joseph Hart. On the opposite corner lived Ebenezer Burrill, the patriotic town clerk. John Adam Dagyr's home was just beyond, presumably in the so-called "Carnes house," which stood across the entrance of the present Carnes Street. Rufus Mansfield, captain of the fourth company of militia, lived on Waterhill, as did Lieutenant Thomas

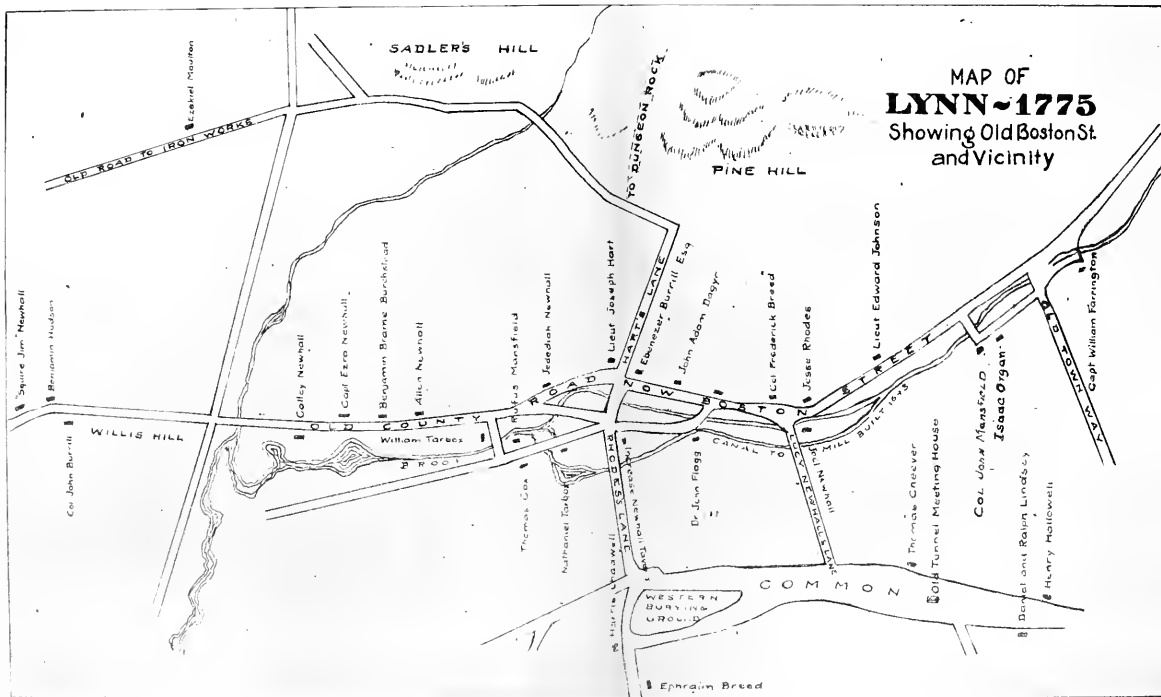
Lynn in the Revolution

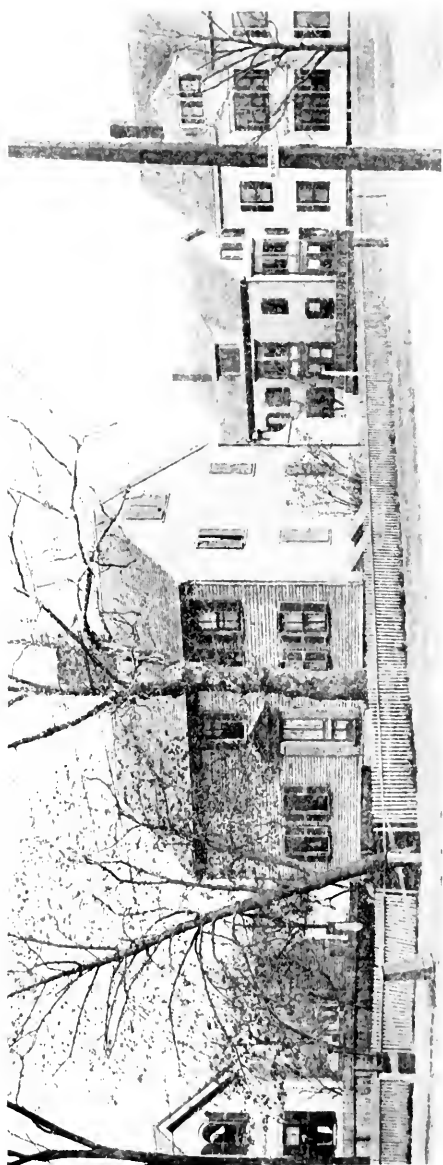
Cox, Nathaniel Tarbox, and his son Nathaniel, Jr. William Tarbox lived in a small house where Bridge Street now crosses Strawberry Brook. Further along, at the corner of the present Federal and Marion Streets, was the tavern of Increase Newhall, still standing, and at the further end of Marion Street back from the old Boston Road, was the residence of Dr. John Flagg, in a narrow, gambrel-roofed house, known as the Billy Gray House, still standing. On the corner of the present Cedar Street was the home of Lieutenant Frederick Breed, known later as "Colonel Frederick." On the other side of the same street lived Deacon Jesse Rhodes, in an ancient house pulled down some twenty years ago. At the foot of Mall Street, or Lucy Newhall's Lane, lived Joel Newhall. Between the present Rhodes Avenue and Bulfinch Street was the home of Lieutenant Edward Johnson, in a house much altered, but still extant. In Strawberry Lane, or Colonel John Mansfield's Lane, was the home of John Mansfield. He was at that time the most important man in the little community, perhaps the wealthiest, and certainly the most influential, being at that time, with Ebenezer Burrill, Esq., a delegate to the Provincial Congress. He had also been a member of the General Court which General Gage ordered dispersed at Salem. In the old Hathorne house, which stood on the ground of the present Lynn Hospital, lived Deacon William Farrington, captain of the second company of Lynn militia, a prominent man and deacon of the old First Church. In Bow Bend, or North Bend Street, lived John Willis and his brother-in-law, Thomas Hall. Just where Fresh Marsh Lane, or Chestnut Street, joined the Boston Road, lived

Lynn in the Revolution

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MAP OF
LYNN-1775
Showing Old Boston St.
and Vicinity





FREDERICK BREED HOUSE, BOSTON STREET

Lynn in the Revolution

Robert Mansfield. The old house, still standing, known as the "Wyoma House," was the home of Ebenezer Richardson. On the present estate of John L. Shorey lived Daniel Galeucia, afterwards a captain in the army of Washington.

Turning back now to the western part of the town, an ancient house, still in a good state of preservation, marks the dwelling of Ephraim Breed, great-grandson of the first Allen Breed; and near it was the home of his friend, Harris Chadwell. Over in the fields, near the Saugus line, back of the present City Farm, lived Ezekiel Moulton. Around the Common were the homes of Aaron Breed, Henry and Theophilus Hallowell, Micajah Newhall, Richard Pappoon, Thomas Cheever, James Bachelier, Daniel and Ralph Lindsey. On Market Street lived the Alleys and Benjamin Johnson. On the present Fayette Street, opposite Ireson Avenue, lived Edward and John Ireson, and near them Jacob Ingalls. Eleazer Collins Ingalls resided on Essex Street, near Alice; and the home of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego Ramsdell was at the curve of the road where it now enters Swampscott. Near the present Swampscott railroad station lived Theophilus Burrill, in a house still standing; and his nearest neighbors were the Richards family, five of whom were in the war.

The homes in Saugus and Lynnfield were widely scattered, although in that part of Saugus known as Oaklandvale four houses are still standing which sheltered four families of Boardmans.

Thus were located some of the scattered homes of the Lynn patriots. Without doubt, there were many others long ago crowded out by the growing city, and even their

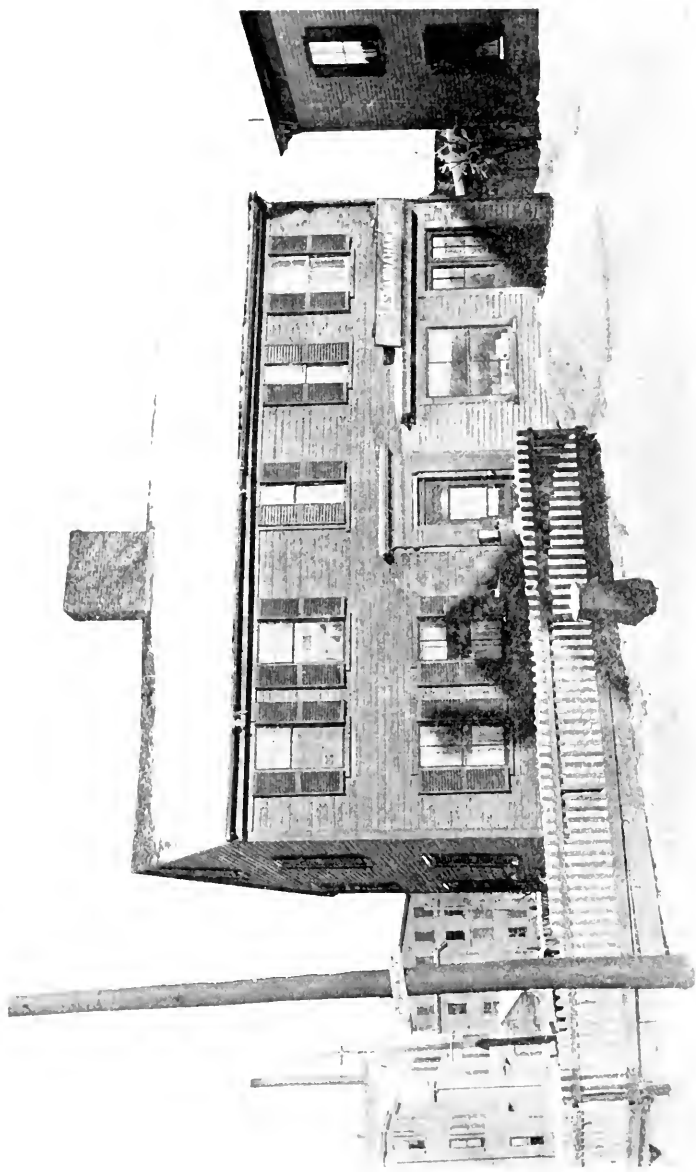
Lynn in the Revolution

sites forgotten. These we are glad to remember, together with the men who went forth from their shelter to the War for Independence.

We now turn our thoughts for a moment to the companies which had been forming during the memorable winter of 1775, for the men who went out on the April alarm went for the most part regularly and under command, and not independently in a mad run for the scene of conflict. This statement is made after careful investigation and a consultation of every bit of available evidence, and in spite of the published statement that, "on receiving the intelligence that the troops had left Boston, many of the inhabitants of Lynn immediately set out, without waiting to be organized, and with such weapons as they could most readily procure. The people from Lynn met them at Lexington on their return, and joined in firing at them from the walls and fences." A few men undoubtedly failed to leave the town with their companies, and later hurried after them in their own way. Some of these men may have reached Lexington, although even this is doubtful. It is certain that no company went as far as Lexington.

Two hundred and forty-seven men had been duly organized in five companies, and were ready for the opening of hostilities. Each man had furnished his own musket or firearm, and no one had reached the dignity of a uniform. The men were, indeed, but slightly trained, yet they were courageous and full of devotion to their country.

The first company was exclusively from the Third Parish, Saugus, and was commanded by Captain David Parker. It consisted of sixty-three men, and was the



INCREASE NEWHALL TAVERN, CORNER OF FEDERAL AND MARION STREETS

Lynn in the Revolution

largest in town. It met for drill at the Jacob Newhall tavern, which stood across the present Lincoln Avenue, East Saugus.

The Second Company of Foot, as it was called, was commanded by Captain William Farrington, and consisted of fifty-two men. Its membership was largely from the central and easterly sections of the town, and its place of meeting was at the foot of the present Franklin Street, near where the Lynn Hospital now stands.

The third company in point of numbers was commanded by Captain Ezra Newhall, and was composed of men from every portion of Lynn, including Lynnfield and Saugus. This company, as will be seen by the roll appended, was called a "Minit Company," and was undoubtedly formed to comply with the recent vote of the Provincial Congress. It had its headquarters on the Common, and, although no record of its organization has been found, it numbered forty-nine men. From its widely scattered membership the evidence appears that it was hastily formed of men and boys who had not previously been enrolled in the regular militia companies. Its captain had seen service in the French and Indian War.

The next company was called the Fourth Company of Foot, and was commanded by Captain Rufus Mansfield, who lived on Waterhill. It consisted of forty-four men, most of whom were from the immediate neighborhood, and the greater part of whom were bound together by the ties of blood or marriage. Nearly one-third of its membership bore the name of Newhall. Its rendezvous was at the Increase Newhall Tavern, in later years

Lynn in the Revolution

known as the "Orcutt House," still standing on Federal Street.

The fifth, last, and smallest company was commanded by Captain Nathaniel Bancroft, of the North Parish, or Lynnfield. By the record of its organization, Joseph Gowing had been made captain, but, before the arrival of the nineteenth of April, Deacon Bancroft had been substituted, and Gowing had been dropped to first-lieutenant. On the pay-roll appended it will be noticed that it is called simply "Capt. Bancroft's Company." It numbered thirty-eight men, and was perhaps the most interesting of all from the fact that it saw hard fighting, lost three of its number killed, had several wounded, and probably made several prisoners. Like the fourth company, it was also bound together, in large part, by the ties of relationship. The meeting-place was the Joseph Gowing Tavern at Lynnfield Centre, an interesting old house, which was burned, probably by an incendiary, at midnight, June eighteenth, 1896.

The nineteenth of April, 1775, fell on Wednesday. The spring of that year had been a very remarkable one. The season was far advanced, apple-trees were in bloom, and farmers were preparing the fields for planting. General Gage's troops had been restless during the winter months, and hailed with delight an excursion into the country, even though it must be a stealthy one. Paul Revere, a coppersmith and engraver, living on Hanover Street in Boston, had been particularly zealous in watching the movements of the king's troops, and in this work he had been assisted by many of his business associates, most of whom were members of the Masonic fraternity. They had quietly kept one another informed of every-



GOWING TAVERN

Lynn in the Revolution

thing transpiring, and the decision of the British to march into the country on the night of the eighteenth was quickly known among them. Dr. Joseph Warren at once arranged with Paul Revere and William Dawes to ride by different routes to Lexington, for the purpose of alarming the country and placing Hancock and Adams, who were there, on guard. Revere had arranged with a friend to have signals displayed in the steeple of Christ Church, one lantern, if it was found that they were to go by way of Roxbury Neck, and two, if they were to cross the river to Cambridge. He found at ten o'clock that the expedition was to cross the river, and then his night ride began. It was probably between eleven and twelve o'clock when he reached Medford, the nearest point to Lynn, distant about eight miles. There was little difficulty in arousing alert and patriotic Medford, and little time was lost before her messengers were hurrying the news to Malden, and from thence on to Saugus and Lynn, which were reached before sunrise. Confirming this, a grandson of one of the Saugus minute-men, contributing a series of sketches to the *Lynn Reporter* in 1860, and being then contemporary with many of the survivors of the Saugus company, wrote as follows:—

“Captain Parker mustered his company at an early hour of the day of the Concord fight and marched with them with all speed to the scene of the conflict. He reached the highway in West Cambridge before the return of the regulars and arranged his company in order to give them a warm reception. While thus arranged and prepared, some officer of higher rank informed Capt. Parker that the orders were, not to give the enemy pitched battle, but to let the soldiers disperse themselves through the fields and harass the enemy as much as possible by random firing. Capt. Parker's company

Lynn in the Revolution

was then dismissed and performed signal service in that memorable fight."

Thus it will be seen that this company, at least, mustered, marched, and, by orders, dispersed. The payroll of the company shows, too, that the men were paid for their service.

Again, the *Lynn Record* of September, 1837, contains the following notice of the death of Abner Cheever, one of the corporals of Captain Parker's company:—

"In Lynn, Sept. 13, 1837, Col. Abner Cheever, aged 82. Col. Cheever was in the battle of Lexington, in 1775. He was of the corps of minute-men of that day and received the alarm of the British marching to Concord that morning at three o'clock. He marched with his company before sunrise, notwithstanding some of them had to make wooden ramrods to their guns, taking their powder in horns, and balls and wadding in their pockets."

Here also appears direct evidence that the alarm reached Lynn before daylight, and that Captain Parker's company marched in order.

Mr. Isaiah Graves, whose ancestry on both sides took part in the events of the day, recently, at the age of seventy-seven years, gave the following very direct account as it had come down to him:—

"My grandfather was Samuel Ireson. He was only five years of age at the time, but remembered distinctly being awakened that morning by the sudden firing of a musket under his window, at his home in the old Ireson house, on Fayette street. He soon heard the neighbors' boys calling for his brothers, Edward and John, aged nineteen and seventeen. They said that the regulars were out and that the minute-men were gathering. His brothers quickly went

Lynn in the Revolution

down, and, taking their muskets, went away with the others. I have heard this story many times from my grandfather and have always understood that his brothers were in the battle."

Another interesting narrative is that of Mr. Andrew Mansfield, of South Lynnfield, and is as follows:—

"I am of the ninth generation to live on this tract of land and to bear the name of "Andrew Mansfield." My great-grandfather, Andrew Mansfield, was living in the old homestead on the Danvers road on the morning of the battle. Although the Danvers line ran through the yard and placed him in that town, yet his interests were all with the Lynnfield parish of which he was a member. He was thirty-five years of age and was enrolled in Captain Bancroft's company of minute-men. His son, Andrew Mansfield, was my grandfather. The latter has often told me that the alarm of the regulars reached Lynnfield early in the morning. He was eleven years of age and upon the receipt of the alarm, he harnessed the horse and carried his father to the meeting place of the minute-men, at the Joseph Gowing Tavern at the centre of the village. From thence, he marched away with his company. The Andrew who was eleven at the time of the battle, died in 1851, at the age of 86, and his father, the minute-man, died in 1831, aged ninety-two."

Many years ago Mr. George W. Rogers, of Lynn, published a series of personal reminiscences of Lynn's earlier citizens. In one of these he has this to say of Harris Chadwell, one of the veterans of the Revolution:—

"At the first dawn of the Revolution, on the 19th of April, 1775, Mr. Chadwell started with other patriotic men for Concord, among them Ephraim Breed, his inseparable companion. They met the British on their retreat, somewhere between Lexington and Boston, followed and harassed them, firing from behind stone walls and bushes."

Lynn in the Revolution

These veterans both appear in Captain Rufus Mansfield's company. Fragmentary as this evidence is, it would seem to prove that Lynn's companies went forth in order.

The pay-rolls of the five Lexington alarm companies were made up about the first of the year following the alarm. They were sworn to by the respective captains and presented to the General Court for payment. Later they were examined by the Council and ordered paid. On each roll the item of travel is included, although the distances named are somewhat confusing. The men of Captain Parker's company, which surely went no farther than West Cambridge, were paid for forty-six miles of travel, while those of Captain Farrington's company, known to have reached a point two miles farther on, received the same amount. Captain Bancroft's company, which marched an equal distance, received allowance for but thirty miles, Captain Mansfield's company received pay for forty-six miles, and Captain Ezra Newhall's company is credited with forty miles. The distance is possibly reckoned to Concord and return, but it is certain that none of the men arrived there. On Captain Bancroft's roll six men were not paid for mileage, yet received full pay for two days' service. This may be accounted for by the supposition that these particular men did not hear of the alarm in time to march with their companies, but, having reported later, were paid for service, and not for travel. If the various companies had not marched as companies, it is doubtful whether the state would have approved a bill for mileage.

A discrepancy may be noted on the pay-roll of Captain Parker's company. The names of Thomas Hadley

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and William Flint appear with a note that they were killed. It is certain that they should have been placed in Captain Bancroft's Lynnfield company.

The entire sum paid by the state for the service of these five companies in the battle of Lexington was £123 16s. 5d.

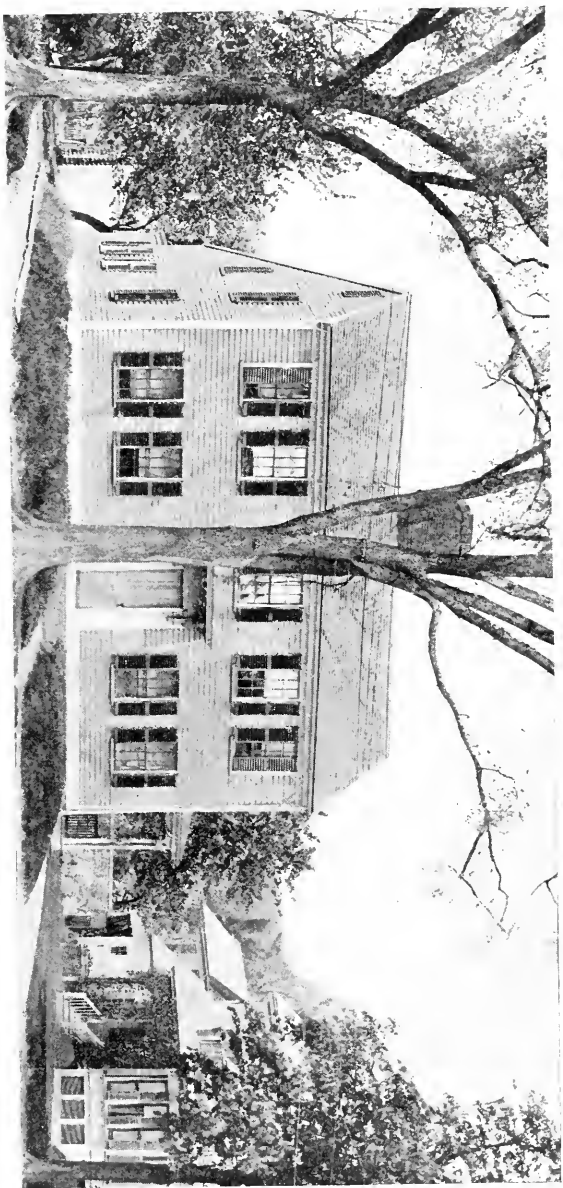
Having found that Lynn was regularly represented, let us turn and follow the alarm as it rang out on that beautiful April morning. From Saugus the news came down over the old Boston Road into Lynn, and from farm to farm it spread with amazing rapidity. The sun was hardly above the horizon before William Newhall and Samuel Berry, drummer and fifer in Captain Ezra Newhall's company, were sounding the long roll on the Common, and the farmers were coming on the run from all directions. The hurriedly fired minute-guns left no home unaware that the British were on the march, and the gathering of the companies was a matter of only a short time. As the first rays of the morning sun lit up the vane on the old meeting-house, we may imagine a motley array, indeed, gathered before the historic edifice. Father, son, and grandson were there,—the seasoned veteran and the inexperienced boy, all eager to make the first stand in their country's defence. Many of the older men, like Captain John Mansfield, Captain Ezra Newhall, Isaac Meachem, and Allen Newhall, had seen service in the old French War, but to most of those who met in the gathering light war was unfamiliar. Hardly a home in Lynn that day contained a male over fifteen years of age, with the exception of the sick and religious non-combatants. Before eight o'clock Captain Ezra Newhall and his company had disappeared down New-

Lynn in the Revolution

hall's Lane, and were on the way over Tower Hill to the scene of conflict.

That morning a house, which is still standing opposite the Lynn Hospital, was framed and ready for an old-fashioned raising. According to custom many were to assemble to assist in the work, but the Lexington alarm postponed the ceremony indefinitely. All the men marched away in their companies, some never to return. Mr. William Hudson, now a venerable man of eighty-seven, whose grandfathers were in the battle, is authority for the statement that not a carpenter was left to work upon the building.

The route taken by all the companies was undoubtedly over the County Road to Saugus, thence through Cliftondale, by "Black Ann's Corner" into Malden, thence through Medford to Menotomy, or West Cambridge, now Arlington. By this route the distance traversed must have been at least twelve miles, and the time consumed three hours. The main body of the British troops had passed through Menotomy before daybreak, and was in Lexington at sunrise. The daybreak conflict on Lexington Common had caused the British to hastily send back to Boston for reinforcements. It is probable that these extra troops had passed through Menotomy before the arrival of the Lynn men. With this large force up the road it would have been folly for the scattered companies of minute-men to march up to meet Earl Percy and his two thousand picked men of the British army. According to General Gage's report to the king, made directly after the battle, the first body sent out on the night of the eighteenth consisted of the grenadiers of his army and at least ten companies of light infantry, eight



THE REYNOLDS HOUSE, BOSTON STREET

Lynn in the Revolution

hundred men in all, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith of the Tenth Regiment and Major Pitcairn of the Marines. These men were in part from the Fifth, Tenth, Thirty-eight, Forty-third, Forty-seventh, Fifty-second, and Fifty-ninth Regiments. The next morning General Gage hurried off eight companies of the Fourth, or King's Own, Regiment, an equal number of the Twenty-third Regiment of Royal Welsh Fusileers and the Forty-ninth Regiment, together with the First Battalion of Marines, in all twelve hundred men, under command of Earl Percy. Thus a force of two thousand men, or nearly two-thirds of the British army in Boston, were on the road between Boston and Concord. It is no wonder that some officer was wise enough to tell Captain Parker to disperse his men, and let them fight in their own way. When the red-coats, under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, reached the Munroe tavern in Lexington on the retreat down the Boston Road, all agree that it was between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. At that point Earl Percy met them with his fresh troops. This is an additional proof that his troops had passed through Menotomy before noon, and therefore before the arrival of many of the Lynn men. It is probable that the latter reached the Boston Road to Lexington soon after Earl Percy had passed with his reinforcements.

Captain Bancroft's company came over through South Reading, forming a junction with the other Lynn men, also at about this time. These were soon followed by the seven companies from Danvers and by many others from Essex County towns, nearly all of whom came through Lynn over the present Boston Street. Mr. Samuel M. Bubier, one of Lynn's former mayors, used often to re-

Lynn in the Revolution

late that his grandmother, Joanna Mansfield, daughter of Ebenezer Mansfield, a young girl at the time of the battle, living in the old house afterwards known as the Bubier house, on Boston Street, near Park, watched with great interest the Danvers men as they passed the house, noting particularly their homespun gray stockings. Many times she drew water from the well for the thirsty minute-men as they hurried along the road. The next day she saw, carried by in a cart, seven of the same men who had been killed in the battle, and whom she knew by their gray stockings.

When the British column finally appeared on the outskirts of Menotomy, on its way back, it was nearly five o'clock. At this point an immense number of minute-men had collected, and the first determined stand of the day was taken by the provincials. Every minute had made the position of the British worse, for the farmers were appearing in numbers to appall the stoutest hearts. Enraged by the burning and plundering of their homes, they were harassing the regulars at every turn.

This was the condition of affairs when Captain Bancroft looked up the road and saw the advance-guard of the enemy. Although he was fifty years of age and had been commissioned in the king's militia since 1767, he had never been in actual warfare. On the way over he had asked Zerubbabel Hart, a private in his company who had been in the French and Indian War, if he was afraid to go into the fight, and Hart had replied, "No, but I tell you to look out for the flank-guard!" It will be no disparagement to the old captain to say that undoubtedly he felt no resentment at the well-meant advice of his neighbor, who was only a private. As the British



WILLOW CASTLE

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advanced in regular order, Captain Bancroft observed that the main body was marching in the road, but that on both sides were long lines of flankers marching in the fields. Zerubbabel Hart's warning might have come to him with force at that moment, but it was too late to act, for, before he knew it, his company, with others, was between the main line and the flank-guard. At this time they were near the home of Jason Russell, and were using it as a shield. The Danvers men had improvised a defence from a huge pile of shingles, and were busily firing at the troops in the road. Before they could escape, seven of their number were killed,—caught in a trap. Dr. Joseph Warren was near by, and barely escaped with his life. Seeing the fate of the Danvers minute-men, many of the Lynn boys rushed into the house, and there Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend, William Flint, and Thomas Hadley were killed, and Timothy Munroe, Joshua Felt, and others wounded. This part of the tragic story is told in part by Alonzo Lewis in the History of Lynn:—

“Timothy Munroe was standing behind a house with Daniel Townsend, firing at the British troops as they were coming down the road in their retreat to Boston. Townsend had just fired and exclaimed, ‘There is another red-coat down,’ when Munroe, looking around, saw, to his astonishment, that they were completely hemmed in by the flank guard of the British army, which was coming down through the fields behind them. They immediately ran into the house and sought for the cellar, but no cellar was there. They looked for a closet, but there was none. All this time, which indeed was but a moment, the balls were pouring through the back windows, making havoc of the glass. Townsend leaped through the end window and immediately fell dead. Munroe followed and ran for his life. He

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passed for a long distance between both parties, many of whom discharged their guns at him. As he passed the last soldier, who stopped to fire, he heard the red-coat exclaim, 'Damn the Yankee! He is bullet proof. Let him go.' Mr. Munroe had one ball through his leg, and thirty-two bullet holes through his clothes and hat. Even the metal buttons of his waistcoat were shot off."

Jason Russell, closely pursued, sought refuge in his own house, but was shot dead at his door and afterwards stabbed eleven times by bayonets, so great was the fury of the British. Tarrying but a few minutes, however, to plunder the house, the regulars swept on towards Boston, leaving twelve patriots dead in the wayside farmhouse.

After the savage fight at the Russell homestead, the Lynn men scattered in every direction, and followed the British in a running fight to Charlestown. Timothy Munroe, although wounded, still continued the pursuit. During the latter part of the retreat he found a British soldier badly wounded, who begged him to stop and dress his wound, which was bleeding freely. Munroe stopped the flow of blood with his handkerchief, but the man finally died in his arms. Before his death, however, he gave his silver knee-buckles to Mr. Munroe, and they are still preserved in the Munroe family.

Josiah Breed, a private in Captain Rufus Mansfield's company, was eagerly pursuing the British as they retreated toward Boston, when he was suddenly surrounded and made prisoner. His arms and accoutrements were taken away, and he was forced along with the British column. Arriving at Charlestown, he was sent on board the frigate *Lively* with several other American prisoners. There he was confined until the sixth of June,

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when he was exchanged for Lieutenant Gould of the British army, who was wounded and captured by the patriots at Concord bridge.

Reference has been made elsewhere to Harris Chadwell and Ephraim Breed. Both were near the Russell house when their comrades were killed, but escaped, and followed the British on their retreat. Mr. Chadwell used often to relate their experience. He said that they were on a hill when the flank-guard of the enemy tried to surround them. Seeing the soldiers coming, he jumped over a stone wall, but, striking his knee on a rock, nearly disabled himself. As the red-coats would be obliged to pass that way, he resolved to throw his gun and equipments into a small pond close by in order that, should he be discovered, he need not be taken under arms. The British, however, too eager to get back to Boston to look behind stone walls, pushed rapidly on. After Chadwell had seen them pass, he raised himself to fire upon them, but refrained from doing so, since they were still near. Determined, however, not to let such a good opportunity pass without apprising them of his presence, he waited until the distance between them had widened somewhat, and then raised himself again and fired. Immediately the compliment was returned with a shower of bullets which knocked the stones from the wall, but did no further damage. After the skirmish, while passing over the ground with Mr. Breed, the two men saw a British soldier wounded in the abdomen, who begged them to shoot him that he might be out of his misery. Mr. Breed raised his gun to do so, but Mr. Chadwell struck it from his hands, saying: "Don't fire! He is our prisoner!"

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During the day Thomas Newhall, who was in Captain Rufus Mansfield's company, fell and broke his leg in his haste to follow up the British.

Abednego Ramsdell and Joseph Richards were neighbors living on Marblehead Lane, now Essex Street, at the point where it enters Swampscott. It is related that

on the 19th of July
the fight began at Concord
there about twelve
I took up the four rounds
I went home the
but only 22 out of 100
both our groups
and blood he got killed

Nathaniel Tarbox

*A Record found in an Old Account Book of Nathaniel
Tarbox, a Revolutionary Soldier*

that morning, just as he was starting for the fight, Ramsdell was warned by a woman that he would not come back alive. He is said to have replied that it might be so, but that he was going in a good cause, and, if he fell, he would take a red-coat with him. He was twenty-four years of age, and his neighbor, Joseph Richards, was twenty-one. Both were in Captain William Farrington's company. After Mr. Ramsdell was killed, Richards had a hand-to-hand contest with a British soldier, who attacked him

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with a bayonet. He defended himself stoutly, and succeeded in striking the soldier a heavy blow which felled him to the ground. Richards did not wait to see what the result might be, but joined his companions in their pursuit of the king's troops.

The running fight continued until dark, when the British escaped into Charlestown, the Lynn men having followed them to the end. The patriot loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-nine wounded, and five missing. Of the twenty-three towns represented in this number, Lynn stood fourth in number killed. The British loss, according to General Gage, was one lieutenant-colonel killed and two wounded; two captains and nine lieutenants wounded, one lieutenant missing; two ensigns wounded; one sergeant killed, four wounded, and two missing; one drummer killed and one wounded; sixty-two rank and file killed and one hundred and fifty-seven wounded, together with twenty-four missing.

Thus ended the battle of Lexington. The morning alarm, however, seemingly had no end. It sped on with irresistible force until it had thoroughly awakened the colonies from Massachusetts in Maine to the wilds of the southern swamps. Before night the fords of the Merrimac were choked with men responding to the call to arms. Twenty-four hours had not elapsed till Israel Putnam and a body of Connecticut men were on the way to Cambridge. Springfield sent her minute-men forty-eight hours after the battle had ceased. The Pittsfield company started the twenty-third of April to participate in a contest which had been concluded nearly two weeks when it arrived at Cambridge. Over two hundred towns and plantations in Massachusetts alone had joined in

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responding to the alarm, and at least twenty thousand men had answered to the midnight call of Revere and Dawes.

Let us now turn back to the Russell house, where in the stillness of the evening three of our Lynn men lay. In the south room of the old farm-house they had been left, side by side,—Abednego Ramsdell, William Flint, and Thomas Hadley, who, full of life, had come over from Lynn that morning. There were also Jason Russell, of Menotomy, the owner of the house; Benjamin Pierce, of Salem; Lieutenant John Bacon, Nathaniel Chamberlain, and Amos Mills, of Needham; Elias Haven and Jonathan Parker, of Dedham; and Jabez Wyman and Jason Winship, of Menotomy. The body of Daniel Townsend had already been taken away by his brother, who was lieutenant of the Lynnfield company, and the seven Danvers men were also borne away that night by their comrades. Twelve, however, were left where they fell. Two days after, all but three of these were buried in a common grave in the rear of the Russell house. There they remained until April twenty-second, 1848, when their remains were transferred to the cemetery at Arlington, and a monument erected by the town. The three men from Menotomy were buried in separate graves.

We now return to the Lynn men who had become scattered as the fight progressed. Many of them came back to Lynn during the night, and a portion of them, at least, found lodging at Medford. Nearly all, however, reached home the next day. With the return of Captains Parker, Farrington, Bancroft, and Mansfield to Lynn, their companies ceased to exist, for the work of the minute-men



HOME OF COLONEL EZRA NEWHALL, OLD BOSTON STREET

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was over, and the Continental Army was soon to be organized. With the exception of Captain Newhall, none of these captains saw further service in the war. It is interesting to read a note following the name of James Gowing on the pay-roll of Captain Bancroft's company. Instead of receiving pay for thirty miles of travel and two days' service, he is accredited with sixty-seven miles of travel and three days' service from the fact that he was ordered to go to Ipswich jail with a number of prisoners. It would thus appear that Captain Bancroft's company, in addition to sustaining the heaviest loss, succeeded in taking some British prisoners.

Captain Newhall and his company returned to Lynn, and proceeded to do guard duty. Later, as may be seen by an examination of a pay-roll of his company, most of his men began to enlist in the new army. In fact, before May fifteenth of that year nearly all of them had enrolled themselves as Continentals, and later were in the service during the siege of Boston.

Glancing over the rolls of the companies once more before we leave the interesting record of the part which our Lynn men took at the very beginning of the Revolution, we note several additional facts which it may be well to mention in this connection. While the Lewis history credits the little town with only 168 men who served during the whole war, we find that the alarm of April nineteenth, 1775, alone, brought out 247 men, and the subsequent years of the war increased the number to nearly five hundred. Where previously twenty-one officers have been noted as coming from the town, Captain Rufus Mansfield, David Parker, Nathaniel Bancroft, and William Farrington not being mentioned, we

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find that in the five companies which went out on this first alarm there were forty-four officers, besides the two fifers and three drummers.

Of Captain Ezra Newhall's company, which consisted of forty-nine men, only fourteen are to be found in Mr. Lewis's list; of Captain Bancroft's company of fifty-eight men, only five are mentioned; of Captain William Farrington's company of fifty-three men, only nineteen; of Captain Parker's company of sixty-three, only seven; and of Captain Mansfield's company of forty-four, only twelve.

The family names which are most prominent in these companies are "Newhall," represented by forty-two men; "Mansfield," by seventeen; "Bancroft," by seven; "Boardman," by six; "Burrill," by fifteen; "Breed," by seven; "Brown," by ten; "Hitchings," by nine; "Johnson," by ten; "Ingalls," by eight.

Thus did Lynn respond nobly to the midnight alarm. Four of her sons were slain by the soldiers of the king, and others were wounded or suffered loss. The last Lynn survivor of the famous battle passed away over sixty years ago, but the grandchildren of these brave men still relate the story of their sires.

Chapter IV

THE GATHERING OF THE ARMY AT CAMBRIDGE AND THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

AFTER the battle of Lexington a meeting of the Provincial Congress was at once called, and the Committee of Safety sent word to the Governors of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, as follows:—

As the troops have now commenced hostilities, we think it our duty to exert our utmost strength to save our country from absolute slavery. We pray your honors would afford us all the assistance in your power.

The provincials were gathering in the neighborhood of Boston, and Congress, realizing the necessity of bringing an army under organization, had sent out its call for thirty thousand men to be raised in the New England colonies, thirteen thousand five hundred of whom were to be raised in Massachusetts. Upon the day when this resolve was passed in the Provincial Congress a town meeting was held in Lynn, and the quaint language of the old record will give the best possible idea of the vigilance and caution which were exercised by the inhabitants for the safety of the town. We can seem to read between the lines all the excitement and anxiety which must have been felt after the battle which had just been fought so near at hand, and at a time when the future

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could but hold unknown trouble and hardship. The record is as follows: —

“At a town meeting held the 23rd. of April, 1775, in the old meeting house, Dea. Daul. Mansfield was chosen moderator. It was

“Voted to chuse a Commite Consisting of three men to Joyne with the other Committes to Consult sum mesures to Defend the Sea Ports.

“Voted that Dea. Daniel Mansfield, the Reverend Mr. Joseph Roby and the Reverend John Treadwell serve on sd. commite.

“Voted that Larrim men meet together and Chuse officers for sd. Compney and view arms.

“Voted that all the men that are aBliged to Bair arms in Either of the Lists that they meet and view their arms all in one day viz. that the two East Compeneys with the Larrim men in sd. Compenie meet at the old meeting house; the West Compney with the Larrim men in sd. compney to meet at Mr. Jacob Newhalls' Inholder; and the Compney in the North Parrish at Mr. Ezekiel Gowings Inholder; all the aBove Companies to meet on thursday the 27th Instant at 3 of the clock afternoon.

“Voted that the minnit men Receive Billiting in Proportion to the Rest of the army.

“Voted that their be a watch kept in the Town to Consist of twelve men Each and Every Night.

“Voted that Benja. Newhall serve as a head to sett sd. watch and that the Selectmen assist in seting sd. watch if required.”

Captain Ezra Newhall's minute company had not yet been disbanded, a fact which is shown by the record of April twenty-seventh, when it was “Voted that the minit Compney be kept Imbodied and be supplied by the Town till further orders.” Only a few days later, however, it would seem that the men had nearly all enlisted in Colonel John Mansfield's new regiment which

Solification for a Town meeting Lynn Ap^l 23 1775
 Notice is hereby given to the freeholders and inhabitants
 of the Inhabitants of P^l Town to attend a Town meeting
 on this Day at five of the Clock ^{at the old meeting house} after noon to Chuse
 a Committee to meet the General Committee from the
 other ^{in this County} Towns to purchase such munition as they shall think
 Best: And also vote on any other thing the Town shall
 think Best at P^l meeting -
 By order of the Select Men
 Benj^l Sewall Town Clerk

- town meeting
 At a Town meeting assembled this 23 Day of Ap^l 1775
 after the Solification was read and Consideration there on
 Chose Dr Daniel Mansfield Moderator of P^l meeting
 to Chuse a Committee Consisting of three men to goe
 with the other Committee to Consult Sum munition ~~the~~
 to Defend the Sea Coast -
 2ly Voted that Dr Daniel Mansfield, the Reverend Mr Joseph Roby
 and the Reverend Mr John Tinswell Serve on P^l Committee
 3ly Voted that the Larrim men meet together and Chuse officers
 for P^l Company and their arms -
 4ly Voted that all the men that are obliged to Bear arms in
 either of the Lists that they meet and Dress themselves
 all in one Day: Viz: That the two East Companies
 with the Larrim men ~~meet~~ in P^l Companie meet at
 the old meeting house, the west Company with the
 Larrim men in P^l Company to meet at Mr Jacob Sewalls
 and the Company in the North Parish at Mr
 Ezekiel Sawings Inhab^l all the above Companies to meet
 on Thursday the 27 Instant at 3 of the Clock afternoon -
 5ly Voted that the Minutemen receive Billings in Proportion
 to the List of the army -
 6ly Voted that there be a watch kept in the Town to Consist of twelve
 men Each and Every Night -
 7ly Voted that Benj^l Sewall Serve as a head to sett P^l watch
 and that the Selectmen assist in settling P^l watches
 if required

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was to become a part of the army gathering at Cambridge, for the records show that on "May 2, 1775, it was voted that the minit compeney Receive no more pay from the Town." It was desired, however, that the selectmen send a request to the Committee of Safety for "Part of the Troops to be stationed in Lynn for our Safety and to a sist in keeping watches." Accordingly, on the eighteenth and twenty-third, watches were again established as follows:—

"Voted that there be a Watch kept at the Lower Landing so cald and also voted that Capt. David Parker be Capt. of sd. watch and that the Rest of the watches be continued or Dismist at the Pleasure of the Selectmen.

"Voted that Capt. Rufus Mansfield and Capt. William Farrington serve as captains of the watches for the Bodey of the Town.

"Voted that the Captains of the Watches Notifye Each Person three Days Before the Time of Watching, and those Persons that Shall Refuse (Being Duly Notified) then shall forfyt the sum of two shillings for Every time it shall come to their turn to watch and the Captains of sd. watches shall keep a list of those Persons so Neglecting to watch and Return it to the Assesors of this town for them to Put it into their Next Town Rait."

The above watches formed a part of the coast-guard which was stationed along the seaboard for the remainder of the year or until the army moved southward.

On the twenty-seventh of May, Colonel John Mansfield reported his new regiment as ready for service, and it accordingly joined the other forces at Cambridge under General Artemas Ward, who was for the time in command, he having received his appointment about a week earlier.

The Lynn soldiers no doubt took the same oath as that administered to the other Continentals, namely:—

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"I do hereby solemnly engage and enlist myself as a soldier in the Massachusetts service, from the day of my enlistment to the last day of December next, unless the service should admit of a discharge of a part or the whole sooner, which will be at the discretion of the Committee of Safety; and I hereby promise to submit myself to the orders and regulations of the Army, and faithfully to observe and obey all such orders as I shall receive from any superior officer."

Many descriptions have been given of the appearance of these private soldiers who furnished their own clothing, and had not yet reached the dignity of a uniform. Certain it is that there was little attractiveness in the simple costume of the countryside. The quiet colors were most in evidence, the dull browns and greens, and the style and cut of the motley attire was often the subject of ridicule by the British. It was only later that they learned to fear and respect the wearers of the rifleman's dress which was suggested by Washington, and came to be to some extent adopted. Our New England men never wore the buff and blue which we like to associate with Washington, and was really the prescribed uniform of only the New Jersey and New York Continentals. In the records of our Lynn soldiers we notice the fact of a bounty coat being allowed them for service during the first months of the war. In this connection we find that two days after Washington took command of the army, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts passed a resolve to provide thirteen thousand coats for use of the army of Massachusetts. Not all of our men accepted this aid, "being sufficiently provided in that respect," but at the end of their enlistment took instead the equivalent in money. We give here the resolve, which has been called The Coat Roll Resolve:

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“Resolved that 13000 coats be provided, as soon as may be, and one thereof be given to each non-commissioned officer and soldier in the Massachusetts forces, agreeably to resolve of 23d. of April last, and in order to facilitate their being prepared,

“Resolved, that the said 13000 overcoats be proportioned immediately on all the towns and districts of this colony, except the towns of Boston and Charlestown, in proportion as they paid the last provincial tax, which towns and districts are desired to cause them to be made of good cloth, preferences to be given to the manufacturers of this country, and to be delivered to the committee of supplies, without buttons, on or before the first day of October next. That for every yard of such cloth of $\frac{7}{8}$ of a yard wide, they shall be allowed and paid the sum of 5s. 4d. and in that proportion for cloth of greater or less width; and the sum of 4s. for making each and every coat and the selectmen of each town and district respectively are directed to lay their accounts before the committee of supplies, who are ordered to draw on the Receiver General for the payment thereof.

“That the coat be faced with the same kind of cloth of which it is made, that the coats be made in the common plain way, without lappels, short and with small folds, and that the selectmen cause a certificate to be sewn on the inside of each coat purporting from what town it came, and by whom the coat was made, and if the cloth was manufactured in this country and by whom it was manufactured.

“That the committees of supplies be and are hereby directed to provide all the coats proportioned on such towns and districts as give information to them as aforesaid that they cannot supply them, and they are to cause all the coats to be buttoned with pewter buttons, and that the coats for each regiment, respectively, have buttons of the same number stamped upon them.”

Apportionments were made as follows:—

Salem, 350.

Andover, 189.

Danvers, 116.

Haverhill, 113.

Newburyport, 184.

Lynn, 93.

Marblehead, 265.

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In all about two thousand three hundred in Essex County.

Not only was the personal appearance of the soldiers at Cambridge peculiar, but the camps themselves were equally varied and curious. Rev. William Emerson writes of them:—

“It is very diverting to walk among the different camps. They are as different in their forms as the owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and tastes of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some are made of sail cloth; some are partly of one and partly of the other. Again others are made of stone and turf, brick and brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry, others curiously wrought with wreaths and withes.”

In such a company do we now find the men who had enlisted in Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, under the old captain of the minute company, Ezra Newhall. Many of the men had marched with him on the Lexington alarm. Some had taken part in that memorable running fight under the other Lynn captains, and still others were new recruits.

The following roll of sixty-three men was made up August first, 1775, the term of enlistment expiring on the first of the next January, and four hundred and twenty-two pounds, eleven shillings, and sixpence being paid for the service thus rendered. These were the Lynn men who were nearest the scene of conflict when the first great battle, that of Bunker Hill, was fought,—a battle which, though it resulted in a divided victory, was truly great in its moral effect.

IN CONGRESS.

THE DELEGATES of the UNITED COLONIES of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, to John Adams Esqr

WE reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be *President and of Captain Marshall*

Company in the 4th Regiment

in the Army of the United Colonies, raised for the Defence of *American* Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of *President* by doing and performing all Manner of Things therunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as *President*.

And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress,

July 1st 1775 —
By Order of the Congress,
John Hancock PRESIDENT.
Attest. John Hancock Esqr

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CAPTAIN EZRA NEWHALL'S COMPANY IN AUGUST, 1775.

Ezra Newhall, Captain,	April 24.
John Upton, Lieut.,	" 24.
Grimes Tufts, Ensign,	" 24.
Increase Newhall, Sergt.,	May 2.
John Watts, Sergt.,	" 2.
James Edmunds, Sergt.,	" 3.
Joseph Stocker, Sergt.,	" 4.
Rufus Brown, Corp.,	" 3.
Ebenezer Mansfield, Corp.,	" 3.
John Cutler, Corp.,	" 3.
Ebenezer Stocker, Corp.,	" 3.
Ezra Brown, Drummer,	" 4.
Samuel Berry, Fifer,	" 2.
William Hill, Fifer,	" 3.
Joseph Alley, Private,	" 3.
Jonathan Briant, Private,	" 2.
Timothy Burnham, Private,	" 4.
Joshua Burnham, Private,	" 4.
Stephen Coats, Private,	" 5.
William Coats, Private,	" 5.
Israel Cheever, Private,	" 6.
Joshua Danforth, Private,	" 4.
Joseph Farrington, Private,	" 6.
Thomas Florence, Private,	" 4.
Thomas Hall (Hill?), Private,	" 6.
Timothy Johnson, Private,	" 6.
Daniel Lindsey, Private,	" 4.
David Lewis, Private,	" 5.
Benjamin Meeds, Private,	" 6.
Jonathan Newhall, Private,	" 6.
Ebenezer Stocker, Jr., Private,	" 4.
Abel Belknap, Private,	" 5.
Potter Fuller, Private,	" 3.

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Thomas Hutchinson, Private,	May 4.
Henry Young, Private,	" 4.
Silas Ramsdell, Private,	" 6.
Richard Hill, Private,	" 5.
Israel Burrill, Bourrall, Private,	" 6.
Benjamin Tarbox, Private,	" 6.
Onesimus Newhall, Private,	" 4.
Ebenezer Porter, Private,	" 4.
Francis Cowin, Private,	" 6.
Charles Florence, Private,	" 6.
Garland Chamberlain, Private,	" 5.
John Baker, Private,	" 6.
Francis Bowden, Private,	" 3.
James Marvel, Private,	" 6.
Ebenezer Brown (Reading), Private,	" 6.
John Danforth, Private,	" 6.
William Pell Pratt, Private,	" 4.
David Newman, Private,	" 5.
Sammuel Wheeler, Private,	" 6.
John Bancroft, Private,	" 4.
Jesse Whitman, Private,	" 6.
Benjamin Twist, Private,	" 8.
Jonathan Fuller, Private,	June 4.
John Blanchard, Private,	" 20.
* William Trench, Private,	May 1.
Nathan Ramsdell, Private,	" 5.
Ezra Waitt, Private,	" 6.
— — Newhall, Private,	" 4.
Nathaniel Tarbox, Private,	" 3.

Meanwhile many of the inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown had moved out into the country, and the patriot army, though composed of loosely organized and untrained provincials had taken its station just outside

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of Boston, and was keeping close watch of the well-equipped British soldiery which was quartered in the town, and numbered between five and six thousand men. The patriot commanders took pains in various manœuvres within sight of the enemy to make the number of their men appear larger than it was. Some skirmishes took place in the harbor, and the provincials had begun, here and there, to throw up breastworks. When the news came to them that reinforcements were expected in Boston, they felt more and more the need of efficient organization. The Massachusetts Congress looked for aid to the Continental Congress, then in session in Philadelphia, and, more than a month before the final appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief, word was sent to the Massachusetts delegates in that body that it would be most acceptable if "the beloved Col. Washington was placed at the head of the American forces."

General Ward was too inactive to suit the enthusiasm of the men who were under him,—the men who, at the beginning of the war, at least, were filled with patriotic fervor and the spirit of adventure. It was fortunate that they had at this time little realization of what the war was to be, with its long wilderness marches, its more tedious waitings in camp through cold and hunger and uncertainty, and its long periods of discouragement and disaster.

The British, on their part, would scarcely admit themselves in a state of siege in Boston. They were still confident, even after their experience at Concord and Lexington, that they had but to sally forth to easily put to flight in the open field the body of raw provincials

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with which they were surrounded. Nevertheless, they waited until the arrival of reinforcements under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton before they began to move.

How the Americans prepared themselves for the expected attack from the enemy has been well and variously told. The Committee of Safety held many meetings, and thoroughly discussed plans of operation. Some defences were constructed, and the question of fortifying Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights was debated. There was, however, such lack of organization and powder that many felt that the army was not strong enough to defend such exposed positions, and counselled waiting. It is possible that such counsel would have prevailed, had it not become known that the British were to take possession of Dorchester Heights on the night of the eighteenth of June. The information, which was not to be doubted, seemed to make it necessary that immediate action be taken. The Committee of Safety passed its recommendation to occupy and defend Bunker Hill as well as to secure one or more hills on Dorchester Neck,—a recommendation which was accepted by the council of war held on the sixteenth. That very night the army began its quiet march toward Bunker Hill, and at midnight the men took their spades and began throwing up the fortifications marked out by Colonel Gridley. Colonel Prescott was there, and himself went twice down to the riverside to satisfy himself that they were not discovered, and to listen for the “All’s well!” of the watch on the men-of-war moored opposite. Morning found them with intrenchments six feet high, intrenchments which had been thrown up so swiftly and silently by twelve hundred patriots that no sound had betrayed them.

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and only the dawn revealed their work to the ships in the river and the batteries on Copp's Hill.

The story of that famous seventeenth of June scarcely belongs here, except as it touches our men of Lynn. Colonel Mansfield's regiment had marched out from Cambridge, eager to get into the fray, but was only permitted to watch it from a distance. The day was fraught with disappointment and chagrin to both British and provincial, though both fought bravely and well. Only time could give to this first great battle its rightful estimate. By the American to-day it is regarded as "a victory, with all the moral effect of victory," although our soldiers were obliged to retreat from the redoubt, to leave the gallant Warren on the hill, and to see it occupied by the king's troops. The quality of the American soldier was forever proved on that day, and Frothingham says that "their bravery was so resolute and their self-devotion was so lofty as to at once elicit from all quarters the most glowing commendation."

The account of the part taken by the different regiments engaged was for a long time meagre and uncertain. There was much confusion at the time of the battle in regard to orders, and even brave and patriotic officers blundered through misunderstanding and inexperience. To-day, even with all the wealth of material from which to draw information, it is not an easy matter to bring forward with absolute certainty the true story of a regiment or its commander. Yet our Lynn story would not be complete, did we not try to present as clearly and accurately as possible the connection of Colonel John Mansfield's regiment with the battle of Bunker Hill.

Chapter V

COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD

THE most prominent man in the town of Lynn at the time of the breaking out of the Revolutionary War was Captain John Mansfield. Born in Lynn during the reign of King George I., he lived to see Thomas Jefferson made President of the United States. His career was a notable one, full of adventure, success, and defeat. His public services were many and varied, and his devotion to duty was sincere and marked. Yet, if we were to accept as final the report found in the provincial records of the Revolutionary period, we might feel that a shadow rested upon his memory. Generations have long since gone of the men who knew and remembered him, and nearly two hundred years have passed since his birth, yet even at this late day we are able to glean some facts which would seem to clear away the misunderstanding caused by the reading of that early record,—a record which, however true it may be, we can but feel resulted from a judgment severe to injustice on the man upon whom it was passed.

John Mansfield was born February nineteenth, 1721, in that part of Lynn called "Mansfield's End." This section comprised the land now lying between Pine Grove Cemetery and Federal Square, and stretched northward to the hills. His line of descent, traced back to the emigrant ancestor, would be John⁵, Jonathan⁴, Joseph³, Joseph², Robert¹. Robert, the emigrant, who with his wife, Elizabeth, was in Lynn in 1640, lived on Boston Street,

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near Moulton, in a house which he built and a portion of which is said to be still standing. His death occurred December 16, 1666. His son Joseph was in the Narragansett War, married Elizabeth Needham, and died in Lynn, April 22, 1694. Joseph, of the third generation from Robert, was born in Lynn, January 1, 1660, married Elizabeth Williams, and died June 2, 1739. His gravestone is still to be seen in the Old Western Burial Ground. This Joseph's son, Jonathan, was born in Lynn, February 26, 1690, married Martha Stocker, and died March 1, 1728-29, when his son John was seven years old.

Of the earlier years of John Mansfield nothing is known up to the time of his marriage with Sarah Cheever, of Saugus, niece of Rev. Edward Cheever, who performed the marriage ceremony. Sarah Cheever was of the fifth generation from Ezekiel Cheever, the famous master of the Boston Latin School, and by the marriage of John Mansfield with her there were united two of the oldest families in Massachusetts and certainly two of the most prominent in Lynn. The home was established on what is now Strawberry Avenue, formerly called "Gen. Mansfield's Lane." The ancient building, torn down in 1885, stood directly opposite the Orgin house, and was modelled after the style of houses built about 1740, the roof sloping nearly to the ground, the windows small, and the chimney immense. In this house were born his thirteen children: John, June 29, 1750, died young; Isaac, September 22, 1753; Cheever, December 25, 1755; Sarah, September 12, 1757, died August 27, 1763; Lucy, August 27, 1759, married Joel Newhall, December 24, 1778; William (Colonel), July 1, 1761; Martha, July 6,

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1763; James, May 6, 1765; Sarah, April 16, 1767, married Daniel Allen Breed Newhall; Mary, January 5, 1770, married Samuel Brimblecom, afterward lieutenant-colonel in the War of 1812; Jonathan, May 1, 1772; John, December 9, 1774; Elizabeth, June 21, 1777.

During the French and Indian War, Captain Mansfield became actively engaged in the service of the king, enlisting December 13, 1754, in a company in His Majesty's service raised for the defence of the eastern frontier, under Captain John Lane. He was at Albany in 1756, under Captain Samuel Flint, of Danvers. He was a corporal in Captain William Angier's company at Fort Cumberland from April second, 1759, to January twenty-sixth, 1760; a private in Captain Moses Parker's company from June eighth, 1761, to January second, 1762; and a sergeant in Captain Hart's company from March twelfth to November twenty-fifth, 1763. In January, 1766, he was made lieutenant of Captain Samuel Johnson's second company of militia in the town of Lynn, Colonel Pickman's regiment, being promoted to captain in 1771. This latter company was attached to the first regiment of Essex County, commanded by Colonel William Brown. During the exciting days preceding the Revolution, Captain Mansfield assumed a prominent part in the debates which took place in the old meeting-house on the Common. He early began to serve as moderator of the town meeting, a position which he filled many times during his life. His advice was often sought, his judgment was highly respected, and he was assigned a place on nearly every committee of importance having to do with public affairs. He gave hearty support to the resolutions condemning the Stamp Act and the Boston Port Bill, and

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was outspoken in his defence of the rights of the colonies.

On Wednesday, October fifth, 1774, the General Assembly had been called by Governor Gage to meet at Salem, but had been ordered dispersed before the time of meeting, the Governor having become alarmed at the belligerent state of the province. Notwithstanding the objections of His Excellency, the members, to the number of eighty, met at the Court House, and waited all day for the Governor to appear and administer to them the oath of office. The next day there followed what has been referred to before, the choice of John Hancock as their chairman, with Benjamin Lincoln, of Hingham, as clerk, the adoption of resolutions of protest at the action of the Governor, and the resolving themselves into a

“Provincial Congress, to be joined by such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming situation of publick affairs in this Province, and to consult and determine on such measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true interest of his Majesty, in the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the Province.”

The next day the list of members legally elected was brought forward, and Mr. Hancock and Mr. Lincoln were elected president and secretary of the Provincial Congress. Captain John Mansfield was a delegate to the General Assembly from Lynn, together with his friend and neighbor, Ebenezer Burrill, Esq., the town clerk. These two men were present at the Court House in Salem, and later joined their fortunes with the new Provincial Congress, following it to Concord when it adjourned to that place. Captain Mansfield's asso-

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ciates are worthy of mention. Besides John Hancock, whose name was soon to head the most important document ever written in the New World, there was Samuel Adams, upon whose head, with that of Hancock, the king was soon to set a price; John Adams, statesman and future President; Dr. Joseph Warren, whose life was to be given for his country at Bunker Hill; Elbridge Gerry, who was to sign the Declaration of Independence; William Prescott a Pepperell farmer, whose name was to become immortalized in a few months; Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury, who was to assume the first command of the new army; Seth Pomeroy of Northampton, Ebenezer Learned of Oxford, and Benjamin Lincoln of Hingham, who were soon to be appointed to high office in the army of George Washington. With many of these men Captain Mansfield had a personal acquaintance. His attention to business made him valued by his associates, and his firm stand against the king marked him as a pronounced "rebel."

On December the seventh John Adams, Samuel Adams, and Colonel Danielson were appointed a committee to bring in a resolve relative to taking the number of inhabitants and the quantity of exports and imports, of merchandise, and of the manufactures of all kinds in the colony, the information being for the benefit of the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress. The resolve was passed, and a committee consisting of one from each county was appointed, Captain Mansfield being named as the member from Essex County. He was also chosen by Lynn as her delegate to the next session of the Provincial Congress, to be held in February.

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When the Provincial Congress practically disbanded the militia and ordered the formation of minute companies, Captain Mansfield met with forty-nine officers of the First Essex County Regiment, February thirteenth, 1775, at the house of Mr. Francis Symonds at Danvers, where the following officers were chosen: Captain Timothy Pickering, Jr., colonel; Captain John Mansfield, first lieutenant-colonel; Captain Henry Herrick, of Beverly, second lieutenant-colonel; Dr. Samuel Holton, of Danvers, first major; Captain Archealus Fuller, of Middleton, second major. This record was attested by Ebenezer Francis as clerk. The distinguished honor paid the Lynn captain can better be appreciated when we consider a little further the men who were his associate officers. Colonel Timothy Pickering, one of the most noted men in Salem at that time, became a member of the cabinet of George Washington; Dr. Samuel Holton, of Danvers, the close friend of Adams, Hancock, and Washington, became for five years a member of the Continental Congress, and as judge and patriot held positions of high honor and trust; Ebenezer Francis, afterward colonel, fell at the head of his regiment in the impetuous fight at Hubbardton, while resisting the advance of Burgoyne. In the company of these men, it can hardly be supposed that Colonel Mansfield lost any of his martial spirit, fostered by his long experience in the old French War and association with the militia.

After his election as lieutenant-colonel he still continued to divide his time between his regiment and Congress, being present at the last session of the latter memorable body before the battle of Lexington. Colonel Mansfield was in Lynn on the morning of the nineteenth

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of April, and early received news of the march of the British to Concord. Possibly from the very fact that the object of the regulars was in part to capture the president of the Congress in which he had sat within five days, Colonel Mansfield used every effort to bring out the minute-men. After seeing his neighbor, Captain William Farrington, safely off with his company, he hastened to Salem to help to arouse the officers of his regiment. Having performed this duty, he hurried on to Menotomy, arriving just in time to see the last of the British retreating towards Boston. He followed them down to Cambridge, where he spent the night. The next day the first council of war in the Revolution was called, and Colonel Mansfield had the honor to be invited to sit in it, which he did in company with Generals Ward, Heath, and Wheteomb, and Colonels Frye, James Prescott, William Prescott, Bullard, Spanlding, Bridge, Barrett, Nixon, Whitney, Wheelock, and Mann. This body recommended to the Provincial Congress the formation of an army, and on the first of May Colonel Timothy Pickering wrote the Committee of Safety, recommending Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield as colonel in a regiment to be raised in Salem and vicinity. His standing was excellent. He was at once engaged, and, returning home, set about raising a regiment in compliance with the terms of his appointment. He first turned his attention to the company then in service in Lynn commanded by his friend, Captain Ezra Newhall. He soon secured the enlistment of not only the captain, but nearly all of the members of the company. In Salem he organized companies under the command of Captains Thomas Barnes, Addison Richardson, and Nathan Brown; in

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Danvers under Captains Enoch Putnam and Asa Prince; in Beverly under command of Captains Ebenezer Francis and John Low; and in Manchester under command of Captain Benjamin Kimball. Having thus mustered ten full companies, he reported to the Provincial Congress, May twenty-seventh, that his regiment was in "good forwardness," and a recommendation was adopted that the regiment be commissioned accordingly. The regiment was made up as follows:—

Israel Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Colonel.

Ezra Putnam, Major.

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>
Ezra Newhall,	Zadock Buffington,	John Pierce,
Enoch Putnam,	John Dodge,	Benjamin Crat,
Ebenezer Francis,	James Bancroft,	James Matthews,
Asa Prince,	John Upton,	Grimes Tufts,
Benjamin Kimball,	Job Whipple,	Benjamin Gardner,
Thomas Barnes,	Nathaniel Cleaves,	Joseph Herrick,
Addison Richardson,	Francis Cox,	Frederick Breed,
John Low,	Stephen Wilkins,	Archealus Bachelor,
Gideon Foster,	Bill. Porter,	Harfail White,
Nathan Brown.	Ephraim Emerson.	Thomas Downing.

On the twenty-seventh of May it was "Ordered, that Commissions be delivered to the officers, Lieutenants and Ensigns of Colonel Mansfield's regiment, agreeable to the above list."

The regiment at this time was in camp at Cambridge. On May the twenty-fifth Colonel Mansfield was the officer of the day in the American camp. On June the third he was again officer of the day, when the parole was "Marblehead" and the countersign "Lynn." On the eleventh

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of June, six days before the battle of Bunker Hill, he was for the third time officer of the day. Not to give the story of the battle, it is sufficient to say that it was an unexpected engagement, and that little preparation had been made for a contest. General Ward, when informed early in the morning that the new fortifications were under fire, refused to weaken his army by sending reinforcements. As the day progressed, however, he was brought to a realizing sense of the situation, and sent men to the scene, but too late. At about three o'clock in the afternoon General Ward despatched the Nineteenth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Mansfield, to reinforce General Israel Putnam and Colonel Prescott. At this time everything was in an uproar, and the utmost confusion prevailed. The terrific fire from the British men-of-war swept Charlestown Neck, a hand-to-hand fight was in progress on Breed's Hill, and Charlestown was in flames. Some regiments were advancing, others halting, others retreating. Major Scarborough Gridley had been ordered with his artillery to advance, but, after reaching Cobble Hill, he decided to halt and cover the retreat which he thought to be inevitable. Colonel Mansfield at this time came up with his regiment, and was ordered by Major Gridley to halt and support him. Here was made the fatal mistake of Colonel Mansfield, for he disobeyed the orders previously given him, took those of an inferior officer, and halted his regiment. Thus, in sight of the battle, the Lynn men under Captain Ezra Newhall stood still until about five o'clock, when the conflict ended.

That night Colonel Mansfield's regiment lay upon its arms at Winter Hill, expecting a continuance of the at-

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tack on Sunday morning, but the British had met with such severe losses that they did not care to renew the battle. Colonel Mansfield was field officer of the day on the eighteenth, and on the twenty-third his regiment was ordered to encamp on Prospect Hill. On the thirtieth of June the Provincial Congress ordered the commission as colonel to be delivered to Colonel John Mansfield, to date from May nineteenth. On the fourth of July he was present in Cambridge, and met General Washington, who on the day before had taken command of the army, and who on the next day detailed him as officer of the day. Soon after, Colonel Mansfield was ordered to make a return of his regiment, which he did, showing 399 officers and men effective, twenty-six sick present, twenty-three sick absent, twenty-one on furlough, and one on command, 470 in all. On July the eighth he was again officer of the day, and on July the twenty-second General Washington ordered the army formed into brigades, and Colonel Mansfield's regiment, together with that of John Stark, was placed under the command of General John Sullivan, and posted on Winter Hill. During this time a part of his regiment was employed in making bricks for the army.

In the early part of August, jealousy and bad feeling developed among his men, gradually increasing until three of his officers went to General Washington and accused Colonel Mansfield of cowardice in the engagement of June seventeenth. Two months after the battle, therefore, on the thirteenth of August, 1775, the following entry appears in the orderly book of the Commander-in-Chief:—

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"A general court martial to sit to-morrow to try Col. John Mansfield, of the Massachusetts forces, accused by three of his officers of high crimes and misdemeanors. One Brig. Genl. and twelve field officers to compose the court."

The following members were appointed: president, Brigadier-General Nathanael Greene; members, Colonel James Reed, Colonel Varnum, Colonel Patterson, Colonel Woodbridge, Lieutenant-Colonel Wyman, Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, Major Cudworth, Major Buttrick, Major Sawyer, and Major Angell.

It is unfortunate for history and justice that no record of the trial has been preserved. The only light bearing upon it appears in a diary kept by Benjamin Crafts, second lieutenant of Captain Kimball's company. The observations made by him appear prejudiced, and his own action at the time does not heighten respect for him, inasmuch as he made a request soon after to General Washington to be allowed to resign his commission. He gave as an excuse that the seacoast was unprotected, and that he had a family in Manchester. General Washington granted his request, and the brave lieutenant returned to his home. His diary reads as follows:—

"Sunday, August 13, 1775. This day our Col. Mansfield was confined & a court martial ordered of twelve officers, Gen. Greene being Pres.

"Wednesday, Sept. 6. It is said that Col. Mansfield is to have his trial to-day. Col. Mansfield not tried.

"Thursday, Sept. 7. This morning was notified to attend a court martial as evidence in the case of Col. Mansfield.

"Friday, Sept. 8. All the officers went to Cambridge as witnesses

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in the case of Col. Mansfield. The court was opened, the officers sworn, & the Lieut. Col. (Israel Hutchinson) and all the captains examined and gave in their evidence and the court adjourned until Wednesday next. Col. Mansfield had a trying time and I also believe he will find it a breaking time. We returned from court just before night.

“Wednesday, Sept. 13. After breakfast went to see the end of Col. Mansfield’s court martial. All the lieutenants gave in their evidence much alike, with the exception of Lieut. Breed [Frederick Breed, of Lynn], his evidence being nothing more nor less than Col. Mansfield’s own story, which he had learnt from him I suppose, one of the colonel’s own scholars. To me this was surprising strange. But I suppose neither master or scholar had any foundation for their support, and believe what they both said will fail and they meet the contempt they justly deserve.”

On September fifteenth the court-martial handed in its findings, and the following appears in the orders of the day:—

“Col. John Mansfield, of the nineteenth regiment of foot, tried at a general court martial, whereof Brig. Gen. Greene was president, for remissness and backwardness in the execution of his duty at the late engagement on Bunker’s Hill. The court found the prisoner guilty of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts army, and therefore sentence him to be cashiered, and rendered unfit to serve in the Continental army. The General [George Washington] approves the sentence and directs it to take effect immediately.”

At about this time Colonels James Scamman, Ebenezer Bridge, and Samuel Gerrish, together with Major Scarborough Gridley, were tried for similar offences. Colonel Scamman was acquitted, although he had halted

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his regiment near that of Colonel Mansfield. His plea was that he had misunderstood orders. Colonel Bridge pleaded sickness, and was acquitted. Colonel Gerrish was found guilty, as was also Major Gridley. The latter was the young artillery officer who gave the order to Colonel Mansfield to halt, and for which offence he was so severely dealt with. Major Gridley was the son of Colonel Richard Gridley, however, and parental influence soon placed him back in the army again.

Pending the result of his trial, Colonel Mansfield was detailed on the main and picket guard August twenty-fourth, thirtieth, and September fifth. Upon his dismissal from the army he returned to Lynn, bowed down by the sentence and feeling that he had been used unfairly. The townspeople evidently did not believe the stories of cowardice which had been advanced, for they proceeded to honor him in every possible way. In March, 1776, he was chosen a member of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety, which important position he filled in 1778, 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783, until the treaty of peace. He served as moderator of the town meetings during almost the entire period of the war, and was active in raising the various quotas of men sent into the Continental Army. He attended to providing for the families of soldiers away in the army, and in many other ways exhibited his devotion to the patriot cause. In 1785 he was elected town treasurer, but declined to accept. His last public appearance was on the fourteenth of May, 1792, when at the age of seventy-one he acted as moderator of the town meeting.

Colonel Mansfield was a courtly gentleman of the old



GRAVESTONE OF COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD



GRAVESTONE OF COLONEL JOHN FLAGG

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school, tall and dignified in appearance, and with a gait and manner so noticeable as to be called the "Mansfield swing." Always a staunch supporter and constant attendant of the old First Church, he remained steadfast to the faith when most of the members, including Deacons Theophilus Hallowell and William Farrington, joined the new society of Methodists, which made its appearance in Lynn in 1791. He, however, was one of the five male members who refused to join the new movement.

The last days of the old colonel were spent quietly in the midst of his large family, yet during the remainder of his long life he felt severely the disgrace of his dismissal from the army, even though popular sentiment had ascribed his course to an error of judgment only. Swett, the historian of Bunker Hill, says plainly that this was the fact, and with such authority bearing upon his conduct we may well give to him the just respect which his long life of public service commands.

The death of Colonel Mansfield occurred April twenty-fourth, 1809, at the age of eighty-eight years. His wife had died many years before, and their graves, near the centre of the Old Western Burial-ground, are marked with slate stones which simply note their deaths. There he rests, surrounded by his kin, his neighbors, and his fellow-soldiers. Who can truthfully say that the American flag should not float above his grave, as it does over those of a hundred other soldiers of the Revolution who lie buried near him?

Chapter VI

LYNN MEN UNDER CAPTAIN NEWHALL AND CAPTAIN KING—THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

WHEN Colonel Mansfield left his regiment and returned to his home in Lynn, the command fell upon Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Hutchinson, of Danvers, who as captain had served through three campaigns, and who had been recommended by Timothy Pickering, Jr., to the Committee of Safety as a man suitable and well qualified to take second command in the regiment forming in Salem and vicinity. Our Lynn men, then, in the company of Captain Ezra Newhall, still remained in the neighborhood of the gathering army at Cambridge. They had perhaps been present when Washington arrived to take command, and had heard the shouts of the multitude and the thundering of the artillery which announced his coming. Doubtless they had watched him as he rode through the camp in the midst of his officers, and had felt the thrill of admiration which his commanding presence awakened in all who saw him for the first time. There during that first summer and autumn, inactive though they were for the most part, they came in contact with some of the men whose names were to become great in the annals of their country. Closely associated with Washington, they constantly saw his officers, Greene, Sullivan, Stark, Arnold, Knox, Heath, Thomas, Ward, Wooster, and Putnam, New England men who became

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leaders in the army. Besides these there was Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, whose exciting career has been compared with that of Stark, of New Hampshire. The men of Lynn were also, perhaps, brought under the spell which the traitorous Charles Lee seemed to weave about the soldiers at the beginning, for he was often seen in the encampments with his dogs, and, fascinating because of his eccentricities and his experience in foreign warfare, was the subject of much speculation and talk in the camp. Horatio Gates, too, was there, not yet entered upon the career which was to add so greatly to the worry and care of the great Commander-in-Chief.

Benedict Arnold, made colonel that summer, began in September his brave and perilous expedition to Quebec, with the object of forming a junction with Schuyler and Montgomery, and of winning for the American cause the sympathy and help of the Canadians. It was an expedition which suited his impetuous, adventurous spirit, and how bravely he carried it through and how nearly successful was the attempt to capture Quebec, the great stronghold of the North, is a matter of history. It was on the fourteenth of September that this brave and enthusiastic band passed through Lynn on its way to Newburyport, the point of embarkation for the Kennebec, whence they were to proceed through the northern wilderness. Those living on old Boston Street at that time were treated to a rare and interesting spectacle, for it has been truly said that the flower of the colonial youth was in the detachment which marched over the County Road. Every man was a volunteer, and had enlisted eagerly in the enterprise. Arnold himself, detained by Washington in Cambridge until the next day, was not

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at the head of the column, as might have been expected, but Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Enos, of Vermont, and Major Jonathan Meigs led one battalion, while Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene and Major Timothy Bigelow commanded the other. Morgan was there, and several young captains, who in spite of their youth had seen some service, marched with their companies, as did also a few commissioned volunteers, mere striplings, among whom was Aaron Burr, then only nineteen years of age. Some eleven hundred men in all, they passed through the town, and camped that night at Beverly, Danvers, and Salem. We look in vain for the names of Lynn men among their rolls, and must conclude that Captain Newhall's company, with possibly that of Daniel Galeucia and the seacoast guards, contained all of the Lynn men then in service for America.

Soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, it was thought advisable to guard the seacoast of Essex County, inasmuch as it was feared that the British might devastate it. Accordingly, a resolve was passed by the Provincial Congress on the twenty-eighth of June, providing that the companies be immediately raised in such manner and proportions as should be agreed upon by a joint committee to be appointed by Congress, consisting of one member from each of the towns of Lynn, Manchester, Gloucester, Marblehead, Salem, Beverly, Ipswich, Newbury, Newburyport, and Salisbury. Mr. Edward Johnson was appointed the member of the committee from Lynn, and, the companies being duly organized, one was stationed at Salem and Lynn, and placed in command of Captain Samuel King, of Salem. This company continued in service for six months, or until the war moved

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southward. In the roll of the company there are some twenty-five names which belong with little doubt to men from Lynn.

The story is told of one alarm which reached the town during the time when this company was on guard, which threw the inhabitants into the greatest excitement, and well illustrates the need which was felt of continuous defence. Although Mr. Lewis, in relating this incident, places it in the year 1776, it is probable that it occurred in the summer of 1775, since Mr. Hallowell in his journal mentions it as taking place during the six months that he was guarding the seacoast and before he had joined the Continental Army. The story, as told by Mr. Lewis, is interesting, and seems well worth repeating. Told in his own words, it is as follows:—

“An alarm was made at midnight, that some of the English troops had landed on King’s beach. In a short time the town was all in commotion. Many persons left their houses and fled to the woods. Some families threw their plate into the wells, and several sick persons were removed. Some self-possession, however, was manifested. Mr. Frederick Breed, for his exertions in rallying the soldiers and marching them to Woodend, where he found the alarm to be false, received a commission in the army, and afterward rose to the rank of colonel.”

Judge James R. Newhall adds this to the story:—

“There was a tavern kept in the old house now standing on Federal street, corner of Marion, by Increase Newhall. It was an alarm station; that is, a place to which, when an alarm occurred, the enrolled men in the district instantly repaired for duty. At this King’s beach alarm, it is said that the officer whose duty it was to take command, did not appear, and after the soldiers returned, all safe, he

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emerged from the oven, in which, panic-stricken, he had concealed himself."

Mr. Hallowell, referring to his connection with the affair, says:—

"Myself and many others, under the command of Fredk. Breed all under arms, set off to meet them But proved a false report and said Breed was so active got recommended and was commissioned as 2nd Lient. and was in the campaign of 1776."

The roll of Captain King's men is as follows:—

"Captain Samuel King's company, stationed at Salem and Lynn for defence of seacoast from July 11, 1775 to June 1776, 6 months, five days.

" Samuel King, Captain	Joshua Pierce
Harris Chadwell, Lient. 1st.	David Garrett, Jr.
Edward Johnson, 2nd. Lient.	Jos. Mackintire
John Worden, Sergt.	Jona. Felt
Daniel Cheever, Sergt.	Thos. Chittenden
Henry Roby, Sergt.	John Farrington
John Burrill, Sergt.	Henry Hallowell
Benj. Cox, Jr. Corporal	John Hunt
Nathl. Knight, Corporal	Samuel Hallowell
Ralph Lindsey, Corporal	Henry Lancaster
Wm. Johnson, Corporal	Samuel Mansfield
Wm. Mansfield, Fifer	Ralph Merry
Nicholas Lampress, Drummer	Solomon Newhall
Benj. Cook, Jr.	Nathaniel Newhall
John Meek	Daniel A. B. Newhall
John Horton	Robert Felt
Benj. Larrabee	Richard Pappoon
George West, Jr.	Marstin Parrott

Yes, I understand.

Directing

6-22-99 4:10 PM

Wesley, A. and George the Third, Anno Domini, 1776.

Com-3

1841-1842

COUNCIL, COMMISSION OF HARRIS CHADWELL.

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Jacob Caldwell

Jos. Birnett

Nathl. Brookhouse

John Osgood

Benj. Putnam, Jr.

John Garrett

Jona. Harlow

John Proctor

Thomas Roby

William Tarbox

James Tilton

Benj. Cox, 3rd

Henry Cutler "

Meantime the main body, with its line of encampments surrounding Boston, was being strengthened as much as possible by Washington, who was not able as yet, to do more than keep the British imprisoned in the town. He had men enough, perhaps, to make an attack, but the woeful lack of arms and powder, and, as winter came on, of even clothing, were wants which it seemed absolutely necessary to supply before he could hope to accomplish much with his undisciplined and sometimes unruly troops. The lack of powder even his own troops scarcely realized, and Congress, with its as yet limited powers, seemed helpless to supply what he so insistently urged. Thus the summer wore on. October found General Gage recalled to England and General Howe in command at Boston. Washington with his little navy would have gladly imprisoned the British ships in the harbor, as Josiah Quincy wished him to do, if some one could have furnished him with the cannon and powder, but he was obliged to wait. The end of the year saw many of the enlistments run out. Indeed, the Rhode Island and Connecticut troops refused to prolong theirs, and, but for the prompt coming forward of men from New Hampshire and Massachusetts to make up the loss, the army must have been greatly weakened.

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At this time, too, it seemed necessary that many of the men be allowed to go home on furlough in order that they might make arrangements for their families during the winter. The Lynn company on the first of January, 1776, almost to a man, re-enlisted in Captain Newhall's company, now under Colonel Israel Hutchinson. Our men had occupied successively positions on Winter Hill, Powder Hill, Prospect Hill, and now, with the left wing of the army pushed forward to Cobble Hill in Somerville, they were watching the enemy at close range. Within a short time, the cannon and munitions of war, which had been captured by Allen and Arnold at Ticonderoga in the summer, arrived at Cambridge, brought in by General Knox, who had been sent for them, and, though small arms were still greatly needed, the train of fifty large pieces which came in greatly encouraged the army. The situation of the enemy in Boston, reduced to actual suffering through lack of provisions, besides being menaced by the dread small-pox which had broken out in the town, made it appear that the prudent ones were right in their opinion that eventually the British would be obliged to evacuate Boston, without its being necessary to either attack the town or destroy it, as Congress had authorized Washington to do, if necessary. On the first of March, to the joy of all, powder arrived, and, three days later Washington began his bombardment. The Lynn company had by this time been stationed at Roxbury under General Thomas, and was with him when he quietly moved forward under cover of Washington's bombardment toward Dorchester Heights. There on the night of the fourth and fifth of March, 1776, with spades and crowbars, with timbers and bales of hay,

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they helped to throw up the fortifications which met the eyes of General Howe on the morning of the fifth. Both the armies then laid their plans for battle, but no battle was needed. A long storm hindered the movements of the British, while the Americans worked on strengthening their defences. The light of another day showed to the British commander a position too strong for him to attack, and there only remained for him—evacuation. On the morning of the seventeenth all preliminaries had been made, and by nine o'clock the last of his boats had sailed out of the harbor. Ten days they lay in Nantasket Roads, and then set sail for Halifax.

Captain Newhall's company continued in the service to the end of this siege, which is set down in our histories as the Siege of Boston.

Chapter VII

THE MARCH TO NEW YORK AND ACROSS THE JERSEYS WITH WASHINGTON

AMERICAN troops had at last succeeded in recovering what was their own. Boston was once more occupied by New Englanders, though it was a depleted and bedraggled town of which they had come into possession. Our Essex County regiment, with Colonel Hutchinson commanding, had taken up quarters in barracks lately occupied by British soldiers, and our men of Captain Newhall's company remained in and about Boston for many weeks. Some arms and small articles had been left by the British in their haste in embarking, and it was a common thing for our farmer soldiers to search for keepsakes and small treasures among the débris. Mr. Hallowell makes mention of this in his journal, saying, "One time I made a search in their cabins to see what I could find and found one silver dollar and two others were found by my mate." He speaks also of the ruin which had been wrought at the old State House and of the fact that the pews in one meeting-house had been taken up and the place used to train horses in,—a fact which is familiar enough to us, perhaps, having been often repeated in connection with the history of the Old South Church, but which comes with a new sense of reality as we read it in the faded handwriting of one of the sons of old Lynn. We are enabled, too, to realize a little more fully the feeling of vengeance which the presence of the few lingering British

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ships, lying in Nantasket Roads, awakened in the breasts of the men who were now on the lookout from the harbor, when he tells us in his journal that their general sent hundreds of men in the night, in flat-bottomed boats, to drive the intruders off, and that they lay in readiness until daybreak, and then fired upon the British ships, cutting their rigging and finally obliging them to move away. He ends the quaint account with the words, "This I saw."

The triumph in coming once more into possession of Boston was the last which the Continental Army was to experience for a long time. Arnold's expedition, undertaken with such courage and determination, had failed, and the long months in the bitter cold of a Canadian winter had brought terrible hardships not only to Arnold's men, but to those of Schuyler and Montgomery. The small-pox, which in those days wrought such havoc, had caused the loss of many men, and the death of General Montgomery at Quebec, in battle, and of General Thomas in the early summer, from the prevailing disease, were alone sufficient to dishearten the stoutest hearts. Thus the northern army had been gradually pushed back to the head of Lake Champlain, and both the British and the American army seemed to look toward the Hudson as the next coveted possession. Indeed, Washington, leaving General Ward in command at Boston, with Colonel Gridley to look out for the coast defences, had marched soon after its evacuation, with the main body of his army, for New York. But it was not until the first of August, probably, that Colonel Hutchinson's regiment followed, for Mr. William Tarbox, who was in Captain Newhall's Lynn company, tells us that his regiment

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marched on that date to reinforce Washington. Before it reached its destination, however, the battle of Long Island had been fought and Washington's army had moved up the Hudson. Mr. Hallowell adds another fact which helps us to trace the footsteps of the Lynn men, namely, that they marched to Norwich and then proceeded by water to New York, where they stayed one night, going on from thence to Fort Independence, and from that place to Fort Washington. They had reached Harlem Heights just too late to take part in the battle, and not until they reached Fort Washington were they destined to meet their first encounter with the enemy. To gain any clear idea of the battle which took place at this point, we must look in the carefully compiled accounts which have been given. There are, however, for us one or two interesting incidents related by our own men, not found in the written records. We are told that, while the regiment lay at Fort Washington, the plans of the fort were lost, and that a black waiter to the engineer was suspected of having stolen them. This man was put under guard and sentenced to be whipped every day until he confessed. But the man never confessed, although the grass was wet with his blood as he lay stretched upon it during his punishment. Whether he had anything to do with the theft is not known. The man who conveyed the plans to the enemy, however, was later found to be William Demont, the adjutant of Colonel Magaw who commanded at Fort Washington. To this act of treason, perhaps, more than to anything else, was due the success which General Howe had in taking the fort. The man boasted of what he had done years after, in a letter dated at London, in which he said that he had sacrificed all

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that he was worth in the world to the service of his king and country, and that by the plans of Fort Washington which he was enabled to bring to Lord Percy the fortress was taken.

It was a most disastrous battle for the American army, already discouraged by continued reverses, and the loss of twenty-seven hundred of its best men, taken prisoners, made its cause appear to many already lost. Fortunately for Captain Newhall's company, a part of it, perhaps the larger part, was stationed across the river, at Fort Lee, when the engagement at Fort Washington took place, and consequently only thirteen of its men fell into the hands of the British. The whole company, however, was in a position to witness not only what Fiske calls "the woeful surrender" of the fort, but the cruelties of the Hessian troops, who would have turned their victory into a wholesale massacre of the prisoners, had they not been prevented by their more humane general.

In Colonel Hutchinson's orderly book are given the names of the Lynn men who were taken. The entry is as follows:—

"FOARTE LEE November 16, 1776.

a List of Prisoners taken at foarte Washington that Belong to my Rigiment, Capt. Newhale's (Ezra) Compiney."

Abel Belknap	Joseph Lyndsy, Jr.
Edwin Bowin	Brinsly Pebody, Jr.
Garlan Chamberland	John Proctor
Theophilous Farrinton	Solorman Ritchardson
Joseph Felte	Shadrick Ramsdill
Peter Harris	Benjamin tarbox in all 13."
Joseph Lye	

From Mr. Hallowell we learn that these men were

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taken to New York and kept there six months, and then were sent home on parole.

Following quickly upon the defeat at Fort Washington was the abandonment of Fort Lee, and again we turn to the narrative of Mr. Hallowell to depict for us the movements of Colonel Hutchinson's regiment. The men seem to have kept together only until after the main body of the army had crossed the Hackensack River. Then some thirty of them were sent back to bring over the guards who had been left. Here it will be interesting to follow the story as it is given in Mr. Hallowell's own words:—

"Then we at fort Lee had in great haste to flee and left cannon, some clothes and some money, etc. and there being a small river northwest of the North river and a bridge over it, before we past sd bridge we made a stand to engage them. Myself with others put on a second shirt, not knowing But we must throw off our packs in an engagement, but they would not advance towards us. Then we took up the sd. bridge and went on but our case looked dismal and then about thirty of us was sent back in order to save some guards if possible that was left some way off when we left the fort. Accordingly we went down some miles and then with a boat got a part of sd. guards across sd. river. I had spok for a meal of victuls of the Inhabitants, being very much wore out, but before I got it we was directed by one of our light horse men to flee or we would be cutt off. Accordingly about thirty in all took to a swamp and could not get through by reason of a running crick. We found a dead man in sd. swamp & James Ramsdell, of Lynn, we lost in the swamp. But we got to camp again finally. We had to finally come out by the place we went in by—then it was candle light and that pestered us. The enemy was in a large gully and their lights was burning. We consulted each the other but very still. Some moved to go to them But others said No, But on the whole we movd on and

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soon came to a town where part of the British was but very luckily we saw a man who was a friend told what street to take to clear them & soon got through the town not taken, and travild on to about midnight and Being much Exuasted myself and one more so failed we took to a stack of fodder. The others movd on, But the Main body was miles ahead and while we lay in sd. stack the enemy light horse men as we concluded passing by and a great fright it was to us for we thought we were gone. But it turned we got to the main body that Day, they being halted. Washington and we saw a trying scene thus for us all. We soldiers had but little time to eat or sleep. One time we borrowed a large iron kittle & put in it about a quarter of beef for our camp, while I stood over it. We were soon obliged to leave it and it seemed to me as if I for one must starve."

The retreat of Washington across New Jersey was thus fairly begun. The first halt, as we know, was at Newark, thence Washington pushed on to New Brunswick, thence to Princeton, and finally to the further side of the Delaware.

Through all the disheartening days when the poor remnant of an army was retreating before the closely pursuing enemy, Captain Newhall's company remained near Washington, and was with him when he made his daring attack upon Trenton on Christmas Eve.

The time of enlistment for most of the company was out with the end of the year, and but for the brilliant victory at Trenton it is probable that all the men in this company, as well as many others whose term was now closed, would have returned to their homes. As it was, however, some re-enlisted at once, remaining at Morristown through the winter. Most of them, however, went home in January, and enlisted again in the following March. A few—those who had fallen sick—were obliged

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to remain for a time in Philadelphia, until they were sufficiently recovered to begin the long journey home.

Thus the year 1776 had ended with a little cheer for the cause of liberty. It was a year which was to be marked for all time in the annals of America, although in its passing it had been filled with so much of anxiety and suffering. While Washington had been using every means to increase his army,—for he had realized very soon that the war was to be a long and tedious one,—the Continental Congress had been grappling with the great question of independence. The famous body of men, who had met in Independence Hall over and over again during the year, had debated the question in all its phases, and now, at the end of the year, the colonies were no longer colonies of Great Britain, but free and independent states. The last man who was to affix his name to the immortal document declaring this to the world had done so, and it only remained to prove that the American people were able to maintain the independence which they had so boldly declared. It would be of great interest to us if we could find, preserved in letter or document of our townsmen of Lynn, some writing which would reveal to us the sentiment which prevailed among them during this memorable time, but letters passed but rarely from hands more used to the plough and the sword than the pen, and even the town records furnish little more than a hint of the stand which was taken by the people as a whole. One fact, however, we are able to unmistakably gather from the few entries which we find, and that is that the town never abated its care for the men whom it was sending out to fight in this unequal contest, nor its endeavors to furnish more men when they were needed.

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On the twenty-fifth of June of that year the Provincial Congress had passed a resolve, in response to a call for troops by the Continental Congress, directing that the necessary number of five thousand men (three thousand for Canada and two thousand for New York) be immediately raised from the training band and alarm lists, to serve until the first of December, 1776; the forces raised in Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Hampshire, York, and Cumberland Counties to be destined for Canada, and to be formed into four battalions of seven hundred and fifty men each. At the same time the Continental Congress sent out another call for an addition to the forces destined for Canada, or the Northern Department, Massachusetts being requested to furnish at once two regiments of fifteen hundred men. The General Court upon this resolved further, upon the eleventh of July, to raise two regiments by the draft of every twenty-fifth man in the training band and alarm lists, exclusive of those already raised or to be raised. This was the first draft actually made for troops, and the call when it reached Lynn was met by the following vote:—

“July 15, 1776:—Voted that ye town will give Ninety one Pounds to those ten men Now to be Raised for the Expedition aGainst Caneday, the one half to be drawn out of the Treasury of sd. Town and the other half the Town is to be assised for in the next Town Rate.

“Voted that the Selectmen and Commissioned officers Procure guns for those men going to Canaday that Cant Provide for themselves they Giving Secuerty to sd. Selectmen & officers for sd. guns.”

On the twenty-second of July, probably following the second call, we find that the amount which the inhabitants

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were willing to give was increased somewhat, the vote taken being as follows: "Voted that the town will pay to Each Soldier going to ye service to Canaday the sum of ten pounds to be raised as indicated." And, later still, the sum was again increased by a vote to

"allow five pounds to each of those ten soldiers now to be raised as a further addition to what was voted at the last meeting and also voted if it be thought best by the selectmen and field officers to raise a eleventh man that there be a further addition of five pounds for sd. man and also voted the money to be drawn out of the treasury."

One entry only have we been able to find which seems to conclusively refer to the subject of independence. This was recorded on May the twenty-first, 1776, when it was "Voted that this town will agree to Abide By any Mesurs that the Continental Congress Shall think Best to Imbrace for the good of the Continant."

Thus far, as will be seen, we have only attempted to follow the movements of one company,—the one which we know to have been made up entirely of Lynn men. It has been impossible to find the roll of this company, but from pension claims and individual records we are enabled to give the following incomplete list of its membership:—

Ezra Newhall, Captain	*Solomon Richardson
Frederick Breed, Lieutenant	*Joseph Lye
*Abel Belknap	William Tarbox
*Edward Bowen	†Ephraim Twist
†Benjamin Bowden	*Joseph Felt
Francis Bowden	*Joseph Lindsey, Jr.
*Garland Chamberlain	*Brinsley Peabody, Jr.
*Captured.	† Died.

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Stephen Coates	*John Proctor
William Coates	*Benjamin Tarbox
Joshua Danforth	John Swain
*Theophilus Farrington	†David Newman
Charles Florence	John Baker
Thomas Florence	Israel Cheever
*Peter Harris	Nathaniel Tarbox, Jr.
†Ralph Lindsey	David Lewis
James Ramsdell	Daniel Lindsey
*Shadrach Ramsdell	Joseph Richards
James Robinson	Ezekiel Howard
Ebenezer Richardson	

Besides the above, who were in the New York campaign and the retreat across the Jerseys, it is certain that other men from Lynn were performing active service in the army during the year, notably in the struggle for the control of the important posts on the upper waters of the Hudson, to which reference has been made,—a struggle which was renewed during the summer, but which resulted in little that year.

The names of a few Lynn men have been found who were in Colonel Henry Knox's regiment of artillery at White Plains. A few marched under Captain John Pool, of Saugus, in Colonel Cogswell's Ipswich regiment, to a place called the "Saw Pitts," near the city of New York, there being engaged in scouring the woods. These men finally arrived at White Plains on the thirtieth of October, just after the battle had closed, and from thence took up their march to North Castle, where they joined Washington. The regiment, however, did not go down to Fort Washington with the Commander-

*Captured.

†Died.

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in-Chief, but remained at North Castle until the end of the year, consequently being under General Charles Lee during all the time that he was in command at that place and plotting to supplant Washington. During a part of this time, also, Colonel John Glover's brigade was at North Castle, and in at least one of his companies, that of Captain Pollard, there were Lynn men who, under Glover, joined in the retreat of Washington and crossed the Delaware with him in the raging storm on the night before the victory at Trenton.

In other regiments, no doubt, Lynn was represented by a few scattering men, while at home the coast-guard, during all this time, contained men from this town. We may well notice here, too, that while there were a few men in the colonies who, like Robert Morris, were giving large fortunes to the support of the American army, there were many thousands who were contributing their little with the same patriotic enthusiasm, not knowing whether it would ever be returned to them again.

One vote which has been recorded in Lynn indicates that in this respect, also, the little town was not remiss in her duty:—

“Oct. 1, 1776. It was voted that those men who had advanced the money to the soldiers that are gone in the army agreeable to the foregoing notification that they be paid their money again by the town. And also those men that are gone on their own account in the same company receive on an average with the rest from the town.”

Chapter VIII

LYNN'S PART IN THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN

A FEW words are necessary to describe the state of affairs in the early part of 1777, before any attempt is made to connect our Lynn men with the great events which took place that year. At that time it would have been impossible to predict with any degree of certainty the outcome of the struggle upon which the American people had entered. The probability of success, looking back from our own day, we might be strongly inclined to place with the British side. Two years had very nearly passed since the opening of active hostilities, and to many the end of the contest seemed as far away as ever. It is true that the attitude of Great Britain was still one of full confidence in her ability to strike a crushing blow which should conquer the stubborn rebels who had dared to question her power, but thus far the blow had not been struck, although the two years had witnessed a series of bloody battles in which the British had generally been the victors. The object of the contending armies continued to be the possession of the Hudson as the strong central point from which, on the one hand, to securely hold the colonies together or, on the other, to effectually rend them apart. The two years had at least taught the British government that the Americans were not to be conquered by a handful of British soldiers, however brilliantly commanded or thoroughly trained; and therefore, when General John Burgoyne laid before

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Parliament his plan of sending a new army of fresh troops, composed in part of soldiers hired from Germany, to combine with those already in America, in one great campaign for the possession of the Hudson, it was accepted as a wise and brilliant suggestion.

The plan, in a few words, was to send the new army up the St. Lawrence River, through the Sorel, to Lake Champlain, and from thence, through the lake, to Albany. At the same time Colonel St. Leger with a force of British and Indians was to go up the St. Lawrence as far as Oswego, and take possession of the forts in the Mohawk Valley, and then join the army at Albany; while Sir William Howe, with his troops from New York, should move up the Hudson and form a junction with the other two. Before such a combination of forces it was thought that no army which America could summon would be able to stand. The plan seemed good, and on paper, no doubt, looked well, but there proved to be serious drawbacks to its fulfillment. In the first place, distances in America are long, and there lay between Howe's army and the army which was to proceed from the north four hundred miles of unfamiliar country, which was occupied for the most part not, as was supposed, by Tories, who were in sympathy with the invaders, but by a sturdy population of intensely patriotic yeomen. The Indians, whom it was proposed to employ, were cruel, unreliable, and quarrelsome, and were destined to give, wherever they served, no end of trouble. Besides, Lord George Germain, the secretary of state for the colonies, who gave explicit directions for the movements of the army of the North, went away on a holiday, and forgot to send similarly explicit instruc-

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tions to General Howe in New York. Consequently, the plan of combining the British forces was not one to be easily carried out.

In America, before the beginning of this year, Washington's plea for longer enlistments had been heeded, and Congress had sent out its call for troops which should serve for three years or to the close of the war. The quota which Massachusetts was asked to furnish was fifteen battalions, and the General Court offered a bounty of twenty pounds to every soldier and non-commissioned officer who should enlist. It was, indeed, long before the whole number was furnished, and special drafts had to be made in order to complete the lists, yet by spring there was a goodly number of regiments ready to march toward the Hudson.

Washington still held his strong position at Morristown, General Gates, who had succeeded Sullivan, was in command at Ticonderoga, while General Schuyler, who was the commander-in-chief of the Northern Army, was stationed at Albany. We might expect to find Arnold near the centre of operations at this time, but he was smarting under the ingratitude which Congress had shown him, and was in retirement in Connecticut. It had been a winter of petty jealousies and intrigues among the leaders in the army and in Congress, and, had it not been that the bravest and wisest of the leaders were great enough and unselfish enough during the summer which followed to place their country's need before their own ambitions, the outcome of the campaign upon which they were entering must have been far other than it was. We could pause here to admire the wisdom and nobility of Washington during this trying time, the gen-

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erous spirit and true courtliness of Schuyler, and the intrepid daring and great ability of Arnold, were not our task to follow the path of a few well-nigh forgotten men who were under their leadership.



COLONEL JOHN FLAGG

Among several of the Massachusetts rolls for 1777 we find the names of Lynn men. In the early part of the year, Lieutenant-Colonel John Flagg, the first military officer for the town of Lynn, together with other muster-masters, had been inducing men to join the service for three years, and for the first time we find our men enlisting for this long period,—some in Colonel Rufus Putnam's Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, which marched to Peekskill, New York, in the early spring, and was sent north to Fort Edward in June to re-inforce General

Schuyler; some in Captain Nathaniel Cushing's company, Colonel Joseph Vose's First Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry, which, reorganized and recruited between March and May, proceeded to join the main army under Washington, halting at Peekskill, where Major-General Israel Putnam was in command of the Middle Department. General Putnam assigned this

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regiment on the fifteenth of June to Brigadier-General Jedediah Huntington's brigade, and in July transferred it to the brigade of Brigadier-General John Glover. Others in March enlisted in Captain Noah Nichols's company of artificers, who under Major Ebenezer Stevens, in General Knox's artillery brigade, marched to Ticonderoga. Others still joined Colonel John Crane's regiment in June, while Captain Joshua Brown's company, Colonel Timothy Bigelow's regiment, also numbered Lynn men on its roll.

Other regiments, which were mustered in later in the year, contained men from Lynn, but those which have been mentioned consisted of three years' men, and were probably all stationed along the Hudson when General Burgoyne began his spectacular movement down Lake Champlain in June.

It is to be regretted that the list of our own men who served in this famous campaign cannot now be given in its completeness. From the available sources of information, however, it has been possible to gather the following names of men who went into the service of the Continental Army from the town of Lynn during the early part of the year 1777. All enlisted for three years, and went to the northward. Most of them took part in the famous battles of that year, and some at least were among those who guarded Burgoyne and his army on their way to Cambridge.

Moses Aborn
Samuel Brown
James Bancroft
Alden Burrill

Ebenezer Burrill
Thomas Berry
Samuel Copp
Jerahmiel Daniels

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John Adam Dagyr	Elisha Nichols
John Flinn	Ezra Newhall (not Col.)
Charles Florence	William Paul
Fortune, a negro	James Ramsdell
Nathaniel Hitchins	James Ramsdell, Jr.
Jacob Hart	Hartharn Ramsdell
Ebenezer Hart	Ebenezer Stacey
John Hunt	Enoch Stocker
Henry Hallowell	James Stocker or Steele
James Hall	Benj. Tarbox
Richard Hill	John Tuttle
John Jacobs	Samuel Vial
James Larrabee	Jesse Whitman
Calvin Newhall	John Wait
Aaron Nourse	Henry Young
James Nourse	

Besides the above, the following list is given of men not residents of Lynn who enlisted for this town. This may have been due to the zeal of the recruiting officer to make up his quota, for, as the war progressed, it became harder to find men who were willing to go far away from home on a long term of service. However patriotic the people might be at heart, there were the crops to plant and harvest, and the going away meant not only danger and hardship on the march, but much suffering for the families at home.

Anthony Costekin, for Lynn
Wm. Cox, Sheepscot, for Lynn
Thomas Gould, Roxbury, for Lynn
Peter Sprague, Boston, for Lynn
Ebenezer McMorfitt, Penobscot, for Lynn

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Robert Stewart, New Salem, for Lynn

Nathan Farr, Penobscot, for Lynn

Samuel Flagg, Boston, for Lynn

Charles, a negro, Kittery, for Lynn

John Hall, Kittery, for Lynn

Abra. Wellman, Falmouth, for Lynn

William Wilks, Boston, for Lynn

While we try to picture to ourselves the departure from our little community of these men who felt but dimly, perhaps, the importance and significance of the great contest in which they were engaged, we remember that the whole world was looking on that contest with varied interest. Just at this time France, with ever-growing sympathy for the Americans, was entertaining Franklin as her most distinguished guest, and, from being a secret ally, was rapidly advancing to the point of openly espousing the American cause. Already she had lent some aid, but now, under the influence of Franklin, she was contemplating the money assistance which was so much needed by the new states in order to carry on their war for independence. It was just at this time, too, that the young Lafayette determined to go to America to meet Washington, whom he so much admired, and to offer, in his enthusiasm, his services and fortune, if necessary.

Thus it was to become, in some respects, the greatest year of the war, and, although our Lynn men went out during this spring, two years after the hurried response to the Lexington alarm, with the full expectation of remaining in the army for three years, it would doubtless have lent them an added courage, could they have known that the work of that summer was to bring to the high-water

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mark the tide of the Revolution, and that, before the year should close, its ebb would be surely, if slowly, begun.

To run rapidly over the events as they succeeded each other, and to call to mind how far Burgoyne's plan succeeded and where it failed, will bring us in touch with the work which the Bancrofts, the Burrills, the Newhalls, and the Ramsdells were doing after the appearance of Burgoyne's magnificently arrayed army on the waters of Lake Champlain.

Burgoyne announced the campaign as begun on the thirteenth of June, and a week after that he was on the lake. He had with him an army of splendidly trained and equipped British and German soldiers besides Canadians and Indians. His officers were distinguished men of well-known experience, and numbered among them Major-General Phillips, Major-General Riedesel, and Brigadier-General Fraser, men who were unexcelled in bravery and devotion to duty. He himself was brilliant, courageous, and full of dignity. When on the twenty-seventh of June he arrived at Crown Point, he proudly announced to his men, "This army must not retreat." Ticonderoga, a few miles below, was considered the stronghold of the Americans, and against this Burgoyne made his first move. At this time General Gates was in Philadelphia, in a storm of indignation at having been denied the command of the Northern Army, and by insinuation and intrigue was endeavoring to gain the appointment over General Schuyler. General St. Clair, therefore, was in command at the fort. The garrison was not very strongly manned, yet it is doubtful if it could have been easily taken, had it not been that two overlooking eminences were left unfortified by the Ameri-

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cans. These were seized by the British, and from their heights the enemies' guns were trained down upon the fort. General St. Clair, realizing that he was caught in a trap, tried to slip away quietly with his little army at night, but an accident revealed his troops to the enemy as they were wending their way through the woods. They were immediately pursued, and there followed the loss of the American flotilla at Skenesborough and the sharp fight at Hubbardton, where Colonel Ebenezer Francis was killed. The result was the occupation of Ticonderoga by the British and the retreat of the patriot army to Fort Edward, where it joined Schuyler. This first victory caused much boasting in the British camp and corresponding chagrin on the American side. Blame was hurled from all quarters at Schuyler and St. Clair, and—although, if any one was to be blamed, it should have been Gates, since St. Clair had been in command at Ticonderoga scarcely three weeks,—Congress was inclined to believe that, if Gates had been on the spot, the result would have been otherwise, and consequently gave him the appointment over Schuyler, which he so much desired. Schuyler, meantime, believing Fort Edward to be untenable, fell back with the army under his command toward Albany. He had succeeded in reaching Stillwater when Burgoyne reached Fort Edward. The two main armies were now only a few miles apart. But Washington, who in New Jersey was quietly waiting for any movement which Sir William Howe might make, was no less steadily watching events at the North. He now ordered General Lincoln to gather as large a force as possible in Vermont, and come down upon the rear of the invaders. The Green Mountain boys were

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a force to be reckoned with. Unlettered, shrewd, with a Yankee twang peculiar to themselves, big, hardy fellows who knew no fear, they flocked to the rescue. The Vermont side became full of scouts, and never until the soldiers of Burgoyne had been driven from their borders did they cease to harass and annoy them, and this in spite of the fact that there were many Tories in the district. The situation of Burgoyne's army was now becoming dangerous. He was far from his base of supplies, and little help came from the Tory sympathizers upon whom dependence had been made. Consequently there was planned a raid upon Bennington, where the British knew that there were stores and supplies of food. The result of the great battle which was fought there was a magnificent victory for the Americans, and the utter rout of the enemy was accomplished by the bravery of Stark and Warner at the head of their Green Mountain boys. The heavy loss of Burgoyne not only in men killed and taken prisoners, but in arms, made it imperative that speedy help should be received from General Howe if the campaign was to be for the British the success that had been anticipated.

In the meantime, in the same way that Stark had forgotten his personal grievances and rushed to the aid of his countrymen at the time when he was most needed, Arnold had hurried from Connecticut to the camp of General Schuyler, and there heard of the critical situation of Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk. The service which he there so generously rendered completed the victory over St. Leger and the failure of that part of Burgoyne's plan. The news of this disaster reached General Burgoyne just after the battle of Bennington, and for three

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weeks he waited for some word from General Howe. During this time the two armies were encamped on opposite banks of the Hudson, Burgoyne's lines extending from Fort Edward down to Battenkill on the east side, and Gates's from Stillwater to Albany, some miles further south on the west side. At length, with no re-enforcements from Howe and with men on half-rations, some movement by the invading army became absolutely necessary. The movement was across the river with the idea of attacking the strong position of the American army at Bemis's Heights. A few days later the two armies met, and fought the desperate battle at Freeman's farm, called Stillwater, or the first battle of Bemis's Heights, which fell just short of a complete defeat of the British arms. To effect this, one more battle was necessary, that of October the seventh, when the enemy retreated with terrible loss only to find all avenues of escape effectually closed. Ten days more, and Burgoyne had signed his articles of convention, known as the "Convention of Saratoga," and it only remained for the men of his conquered army to lay down their arms at old Fort Hardy, and submit themselves as prisoners of war, from thence, under guard, to begin their long march to Cambridge.

In this bare outline of the Burgoyne campaign we will endeavor to place the Massachusetts regiments in which might have been found the three years' men from Lynn. Those in Colonel Rufus Putnam's Fifth Regiment belonged to General Nixon's brigade, and, as has been stated, went first to Peekskill, New York, where General Israel Putnam was in command. When this regiment started out, our old Lynn captain, Ezra Newhall, marched with it, having by that time reached the rank of major.

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When it reached Worcester, the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, Thomas Farrington, an old soldier of the French and Indian War, was cashiered, and Ezra Newhall was given his command as lieutenant-colonel. The regiment, upon reaching Peekskill, was almost immediately sent north to reinforce Schuyler at Fort Edward. Mr. Hallowell, who tells us that he "waited on Colonel Newhall rising two year," gives many interesting incidents of his experiences at the North in this regiment, and has much to say regarding the cruelty of the Indians. It was while the regiment was stationed at Fort Edward that the murder of Jennie McCrea took place, and Mr. Hallowell says that he witnessed the funeral which was held for her and an officer who had also been killed by the Indians. This regiment went through the entire campaign, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne, accompanying the British prisoners on the afternoon of October the seventeenth to Albany. At that place it went into winter quarters, General Glover's brigade having been appointed to guard the prisoners on the way to Boston.

Colonel Vose's First Massachusetts Regiment, which also marched to Peekskill, we find on the fifteenth of August at Van Schaick's Island, in the brigade of Brigadier-General Glover. This island, at the mouth of the Mohawk River, was not far from the scene of the battle of Bennington, which occurred on the sixteenth, but we are not sure that our men of this regiment got into that famous engagement. Later, however, it is certain that they took part in the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga. At the latter place the regiment formed a part of the right wing of the army, and was stationed

STATE of
Massachusetts Bay

The Major Part of the COUNCIL of Massachusetts-Bay, in
New-England.

To *Philippe Batchelder* Gent^l Greeting.

YOU being appointed Second Lieutenant of the Company
commanded by *Samuel Ames* detached from the Militia
with arms & that whereas *John French* is Colonel to be
duty as *French* is to the *Company* of the *Company* to be under
the command of *Major General Heath*.

By Virtue of the Power wherin us, WE do by these Presents, (expressing Special Trust and
Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage, and good Conduct,) Commission you accordingly.
You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty as *French* is to the
in leading, ordering, and exercising said *Company* in Arms, both Inferior Officers
and Soldiers; and to keep them in good Order and Discipline: And they are hereby
commanded to obey you as their *Colonel* and you are yourself, to observe
and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from Time to Time receive from

*Major part of the Council or your Superior
Officers*

GIVEN under our Hands, and the Seal of the said State, at
Boston, the 17th day of *March* in the Year of our Lord, 1778.

By the Command of the
Major-Part of the Council,

John French

John French

John French

Lynn in the Revolution

on the hills back of the river. When Arnold made his brilliant charge at Freeman's farm, a part of it was with him, and consequently could not have been far away when he fell wounded at the close of the battle. Later the regiment witnessed the surrender, and also marched with Glover's brigade to Albany, at which place the lot fell to the latter to guard Burgoyne and his army to Boston. General Glover in his letters says that he sent one division of prisoners, consisting of British troops, by way of Northampton, and the other, consisting of foreign troops, by way of Springfield, while he himself, accompanying Burgoyne, started the next day. He speaks of the great difficulty which he had in getting provisions and forage for this large army, and says that they were obliged to take hay and burn fences on the way. Burgoyne, however, by the terms of the convention was obliged to pay for the subsistence of his army in hard money, and the towns which were damaged on the march were later reimbursed. A few words from the British side relative to this march under guard may be of interest here. In Anbury's diary of the march of Burgoyne to Cambridge he gives this:—

“Two days in crossing the Green Mountains. When half over a heavy fall of snow came, carts broke down, others stuck and overturned. After passing mountains first came to Williamstown. Gold became in great demand and we often got from 18 to 20 paper dollars for a guinea. Went through Worcester and Weston. Rained incessantly from Weston to Prospect Hill. Officers in Mystic, Cambridge and Watertown. You will see an old man of 60 and a boy of 16, a black and an old decrepit man limping by his side; most of them wear great bushy wigs; in short they would be a subject for the pencil of Hogarth, but, egad, they are ready enough in presenting

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their pieces, and if a soldier comes the least near them they level at him."

The arrival of the captured army in the vicinity of Boston was about the sixth of November. General Heath, in command of the Eastern Department, was at his wits' end to find shelter for this great body of men, whose presence could be looked upon by the inhabitants as nothing short of a distinct hardship. It was hoped that they could be very soon sent back to England, but in the meantime some provision had to be made for them. Besides this there was the necessity of additional regiments to guard this large force, and again we begin to find against the names of Lynn men the words, "Doing guard duty."

Realizing how impossible it is to do credit to every man who served in the above capacity, as it is in any case to complete lists of our soldiers, we give as many as we are able from the records at hand. The Essex County regiment, in which we find most of our men who were on duty during the month which followed the arrival of the prisoners, was that of Colonel Jacob Gerrish, of Newbury, and in a roll made up on the second of February, 1778, we find in the company of Captain Miles Greenwood, of Cambridge, the following men, who were probably the first to go into this service:—

CAPTAIN MILES GREENWOOD'S COMPANY, COLONEL JACOB GERRISH'S REGIMENT, FROM NOVEMBER 11, 1777, TO FEBRUARY 2, 1778.

Joseph Stocker
Theophilus Bacheller
Jos. Richards

Ebenezer Brown
Abraham Upton
James Nichols

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Benjamin Boardman	*Joseph Graves
Edward Lee (Salem)	Epes Mansfield
*Wm. Cresey	*Isaac Patch
Thomas Newman	John Baker
John Ireson	Benj. Boardman
Nathan Walton	Ezra Newhall
Richard Pappoon	Burrill Potter (Marblehead)
Josiah Rhodes	Jos. Felt
Blaney Lindsey	Andrew Newhall
*Ebenezer Pope	Caleb Downing
Benjamin Mead	Mitchell Nourse (Danvers)
Theophilus Burrill	Thomas Cheever
John Collins	Timothy Hutchinson

The roll of the above, dated "Camp at Winter Hill," bears out the statement of many of the men who said that they guarded the "Hessians," the German troops being camped on Winter Hill, while the British were at Prospect Hill. Their service lasted two months and twenty-two days.

In Captain Simeon Brown's company, in the same regiment, we find enlisting on the third of February,

Job Bancroft

William Attwill

Under the date of April the second, 1778, for three months and two days' service, there are the following in the same company and regiment:—

Jos. Lindsey	Jona. Newhall
Nathan Mudge	Ebenezer Richardson
Jos. Newhall (Jas.?)	Jesse Rhodes
Jos. Newhall, Jr.	Samuel Sweetser
Amos Newhall	Jona. Bacheller

* Probably not Lynn men.

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John Ireson	Samuel Hallowell
Wm. Attwill	David Dimond
Moses Hadley	Wm. Skinner
Epes Mansfield	Nathl. Stacey
Isaac Meachem	Thos. Cheever
Burrill Potter	Micajah Newhall
Rufus Brown	Theophilus Bacheller
Andrew Newhall	Joseph Stocker
Timothy Newhall	Abraham Smith
John Rhodes	Joshua Danforth
Daniel Watts	Benjamin Bowen (Bowden?)

In a company of ten days' guard duty, also under Captain Simeon Brown, from July the second to July the twelfth, we find: —

Theophilus Bacheller	Nathan Mudge
John Ireson	Robert Felt
Ebenezer Richardson	Samuel Hallowell
Epes Mansfield	Wm. Skinner
Robert Stone	Jona. Newhall
Moses Hood	Thomas Cheever
Benj. Massey	Moses Hadley
Wm. Case	Samuel Sweetser
Jonathan Bacheller	Jos. Newhall (Jas?)
Joshua Howard	Timothy Tarbox
John Anabell	Isaac Meecham
John Rhodes	Wm. Attwill
Aaron Boardman	Wm. Whittemore
Daniel Watts	Samuel Boardman

In July also, in Captain Samuel Huse's company of guards, we find the following: —

Abram Pewson or Person	Theop. Bacheller
------------------------	------------------

of B.V. }

New-Ireland.

T. mathisoni (1977), Gen. Breeding

YOUNG being appointed

from the same (second) brand. Different are

Y 00 being appointed, 2000, to the position of

My dear Mr. Garrison: I am duly informed of the
receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and am
glad to hear that you are so interested in the
cause of the colored people. I am sure that
you will be able to do much for them.

British, under the command of Major (now Colonel) James Ross, was sent to the aid of the beleaguered Fort. The British force, consisting of 100 men, arrived on the 15th of June, and after a short stay, on the 17th, they moved on to the fort. The British force, consisting of 100 men, arrived on the 15th of June, and after a short stay, on the 17th, they moved on to the fort.

W. H. do by these Prefers. (reposing Special Tr

and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct.) Commission You agree to discharge the Duty of a

ingly.—You are therefore carefully and urgently to encourage the Day of Prayer in Arms, both Inferior Officers in leading, ordering, and exercising said *company* in Arms, both

and Soldiers; and to keep them in good Order ~~and~~ Discipline: And they are hereby commanded to obey you as their *Superior* and you are yourself, to obey

and follow such Orders and instructions as you shall from Time to Time receive from the Major Part of the Council or your Superior Officers.

100

100

G. I. V. E. W. Under new Hands, and the Seal of the first State, N. H. 1779. The new day of 1779 in the Year of our 10 P.D. 1779

By the Command of the

Mr. J. B. Part of the Council

Joseph Smith

11/20/28

Miss Harriet

1900

COMMISSION OF JOINTMAN BROWN

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John Ireson	Jas. Newhall
Thomas Mansfield	John Rhodes
Daniel Watts	Jona. Brown
John Tuck	Thomas Hudson
Jona. Bacheller	John Sweetser
Isaac Meachen	Thomas Florence
Wm. Skinner	Elijah Stocker
Samuel Sweetser	Caleb Harrington

We have spoken of several of the Massachusetts regiments in which our Lynn men enlisted for service at the North during the early part of the year 1777, but after the loss of Ticonderoga more troops were sent to reinforce the army under Gates, in accordance with a resolve passed by the General Court on the ninth of August, 1777,

“directing that one-sixth part of the able-bodied men of the training band and alarm lists, not engaged in the service, be at once drafted by the brigadiers of the several counties mentioned in the resolve, and marched without delay to reinforce the army at the northward and that they be continued in the service until Nov. 30, 1777, unless sooner discharged.”

The following list of men taken from the pay-roll of Captain Zadock Buffinton's company, Colonel Samuel Johnson's regiment, will show those who went from Lynn at this time:—

Thomas Cox	William Newhall
Thomas Cheever	Elisha Newhall
Ebenezer Tuttle	Thomas Tuttle
Benjamin Tarbox	Richard Tuttle
Benjamin Hudson	Joshua Danforth
Israel Burrill	John Upton

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Jonathan Newhall

Thomas Wellman

Andrew Newhall

Elijah Stocker

James Marble

Joshua Howard

Samuel Breeding

Joseph Williams

Benjamin Brown

Rufus Brown

Joseph Lindsey

John Proctor

Aaron Breed

Thomas Hall

John Willis

Garland Chamberlain

Samuel Sweetser

Philip Coats

All of the above men, engaged about the middle of August, took active part in the events toward the close of the Burgoyne campaign, and, as they were discharged at Cambridge on the thirtieth of November, they doubtless accompanied the prisoners on their march. The captain of the company, Zadock Buffinton, was of Salem, and the colonel, Samuel Johnson, of Andover.

Through all this stirring year the town held frequent meetings in which the subject of the war held a large place in the discussions. Before the first companies started out for service at the north, we find on the records the following vote:—

“March 3, 1777. Voted that the town will give each man that shall enlist in the service of this state for this town for three years or during the war, the sum of fourteen pounds to be paid by the selectmen.

“Voted that if any man has already enlisted into said service and have received any sum of money short of the above bounty, that he be made up that sum and the person to be reimbursed that sum be made up by the town.”

When the call for additional troops was made by the

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General Court on the ninth of August, the following action was taken:—

“August 13, 1777. Voted that each man that shall go in the service of the state for this town to the last day of November shall receive a bounty of ten pounds.

“Voted that the selectmen apply for fire arms to supply said town.”

On the twenty-seventh of the same month, to fill up the town's quota, the following vote was passed:—

“Voted to choose a committee to procure men to fill up the town quota in the Continental army. Mr. James Newhall, Captain Holton Johnson and Joseph Ballard were appointed the committee.

“Voted the said committee procure nine men at the lowest they can to enlist in the service and go for this town for the term of three years or during the war and the town to pay the bounty.”

During all this time, too, there remained the duty of providing for the families at home. Touching this, we find the following:—

“Dec. 13, 1777, Voted to choose a committee agreeable to the warrant to supply the families of those gone in the Continental service for this town. Samuel Burrill, Theop. Breed, and Col. John Mansfield committee to supply the aforesaid families. March 16, 1778 Dea. Daniel Mansfield and Abner Cheever added to the committee to supply the families.”

Thus we record, in just so far as it is possible to obtain any definite information, the movements of our soldiers in this campaign and the provisions made for them. It must be understood, however, that other men without doubt served in other companies and regiments than have here been indicated.

Chapter IX

THE RHODE ISLAND CAMPAIGN AND SERVICE AT SEA

BEFORE leaving the events of the year 1777, one other service should be mentioned in which our Lynn men were from time to time engaged, that being what was commonly known as the Rhode Island service. The position of Rhode Island, half-way between the extreme northern coasts and the stronghold of the British at New York, was one which was particularly exposed and which the enemy regarded as a special point of advantage. As early as 1776 the Americans had taken pains to fortify the entrance to Narragansett Bay; but one passage, that between Conanicut Island and the western shore, had been left open, and this had been entered in December of that year by a fleet of British vessels under Sir Peter Parker, and the island of Rhode Island seized. This point, the only one with the exception of the lodgment which they gained at the mouth of the Penobscot more than two years later, was also the only one which the British ever held on the coast of New England after the evacuation of Boston. The occupation of Newport was one which caused much uneasiness in the vicinity of Boston, for there was always the fear of an overland attack from the enemy, and men were frequently called to be in readiness to march on an alarm from Rhode

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Island. In the early summer of 1777, in response to one of these alarms, a considerable number of troops were raised in Massachusetts, and among them nearly an entire company made up of men from Salem, Marblehead, and Lynn. This company was under Colonel Jonathan Titcomb and Captain Joseph Hiller, and left Lynn in the early part of June, arriving at Providence on the eleventh, where it remained until the eleventh of August, when it was discharged. On the pay-roll of the company there are some twenty names which undoubtedly belong to men who were residents of Lynn who are credited to the town of Marblehead. It is very probable that they may have enlisted in the latter town, but from the frequent appearance of their names in the Lynn companies, and in the annals of Lynn, it is quite certain that their homes were here.

It was while this company was stationed at Providence that a small body of Americans proceeded from the mainland and surprised and took prisoner the commander on the island, Major-General Richard Prescott, who was asleep at a country house a few miles out of Newport. He had tyrannized over the inhabitants for many months, and his capture was hailed with delight by those who had suffered from his acts of brutality.

This excursion to Rhode Island, however, was of purely local interest and effected nothing, the British retaining their hold at Newport for more than two years thereafter.

The following is a list of the men who were on the pay-roll of Captain Hiller's company, dated Camp at Providence, July six, 1777:—

Joseph Hiller, Captain

Thomas Roberts, Private

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Harris Chadwell, First Lieutenant	Abner Pollard, Private
John Watts, Second Lieutenant	Hugh Malackey, Private
Retire Whittemore, Sergeant	John Ramsdell, Private
Edward Brown, Sergeant	James Alley, Private
Edm. Whittemore, Sergeant	Joseph Breed, Private
Israel Cheever, Sergeant	Philip Coats, Private
Joseph English, Corporal	Joshua Danforth, Private
Amos Heard, Corporal	John Danforth, Private
Stephen Caldwell, Corporal	Jonathan Dunnell, Private
Jos. Farrington, Corporal	Benjamin Hudson, Private
Edward Stone, F. Major	Elisha Newhall, Private
James Cook, Drummer	Andrew Newhall, Private
John Ward, Private	Nathan Ramsdell, Private
John Wyburd, Private	William Watts, Private
Benjamin Clough, Private	Benjamin Tarbox, Private
Joshua Pitman, Private	Nehemiah Ramsdell, Private
Joseph Stone, Private	James Fearn, Private
Henry Skerry, Private	Samuel Mudge, Private
Aaron Wait, Private	John Ireson, Private
Joseph Millet, Private	Jacob Newhall, Private
Isaac Caldwell, Private	William Newhall, Private
Benjamin Shaw, Private	William Newhall, Jr., Private
Peter Harris, Private	Micajah Newhall, Private
William Linscomb, Private	Jonathan Newhall, Private
Daniel Rogers, Private	Nehemiah Newhall, Private
Daniel Dutch, Private	Onesimus Newhall, Private
Nathanl. Mansfield, Private	Amos Newhall, Private
Nathaniel Estes, Private	William Tarbox, Private
Stephen Brown, Private	Thomas Nichols, Private
Moses Lufkin, Private	Ebenezer Lathe, Private
Joseph Patch, Private	Burrill Potter, Private
David Roberts, Private	Thomas Hudson, Private
John Boardman, Private	Nathaniel Tarbox, Private
Joseph King, Private	Nathaniel Tarbox, Jr., Private



ZACHARIAH ATTWILL



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John Bozune (?), Private
Ebenr. Nutting, Private
John Bickford, Private
Theoph. Bacheller, Private

Edward Thompson, Private
William Johnson, Private
David Lewis, Private
Zachariah Attwill, Private

Let us turn back for a moment to the army of Washington. After the fall of Ticonderoga in July, 1777, Washington remained for a time watching the two armies under Howe and Burgoyne from his strong position at Morristown. His own movements during that memorable summer were a series of marches and counter-marches made necessary by the weakness of his army and his absolute inability to meet the enemy with anything approaching an equal force. A few battles which were fought were conducted in a masterly manner under his direction, and yet he was obliged to suffer defeat at Brandywine and Germantown, to lose the important Forts Mercer and Mifflin on the Delaware, and to see General Howe's army march into Philadelphia. In spite of his brilliant generalship and the fearful disadvantage under which he was obliged to work, Congress was inclined to criticise his conduct of the war, and there were those who expressed openly their dissatisfaction, and plotted secretly to supplant him. Abroad, however, his magnificent handling of his meagre troops roused the admiration which he merited, and in France and Germany, at least, the fact was recognized that a great general was at the head of the American forces. There followed the dreary winter at Valley Forge, enlivened somewhat by the new system of drill which Baron Steuben introduced in the camp and which helped to place in the field in the following year a better army than had yet

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faced the enemy. The next summer opened with the battle of Monmouth, so admirably planned by Washington, so miserably lost through the traitor, Charles Lee. But by this time the British army was somewhat weakened in America, for Great Britain was now embroiled in war with France, and found it difficult to keep her army here supplied with troops. Only two places were securely held by her, and one of these it was now proposed by the Americans to seize, if possible.

Newport, now under the command of the British Major-General Pigott, was held by a force of six thousand men. Count D'Estaing, whom the French had sent with a fleet to aid the Americans, appearing off Staten Island, was requested by Washington to proceed with his ships to Newport to co-operate with General Sullivan in an attack on that place. General Sullivan was in command at Providence, and was to direct the movements of the land forces. It was an enterprise which met with immediate favor in New England, and men responded readily to the Massachusetts call for troops. A resolve passed in the council chamber on the thirtieth of July is of interest, and is as follows:

"Whereas an immediate attack is intended to be made upon the island of Rhode Island, and that it is of the utmost importance that sundry articles be immediately transported from said place to Providence for the supply of the army therefore

"Ordered, that the Selectmen of Lynn, in the County of Essex, be and they are hereby empowered to procure by impress or otherwise two teams in said town for Col. Thos. Chase, Dep. Q. Master General for the purpose of conveying from the town of Marblehead two loads of lead for the use of said army, the deputy quartermaster general paying the owners a valuable consideration for said teams

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as shall be so impressed in consequence of this order, and all Justices of the Peace are required to afford all necessary aid to enable them to carry the foregoing order into execution."

On the second of August the following petition was presented at a town meeting held in Lynn:—

"The subscriber earnestly requests that the inhabitants of the town of Lynn would assemble at the meeting house of the Rev. Mr. Roby at five o'clock afternoon in order to determine upon the best method for raising men for Providence, as I yesterday received order by express from the Brigadier to have the men in readiness without a moments delay.

JOHN FLAGG."

This was met by a resolve passed in the town meeting as follows:—

"Agreeable to the above request the town met at the above said time and place and passed the following: To give each man that enlists or is drafted for the term of six weeks to march to Providence thirty pounds per month, including what the Court is pleased to give in said thirty pounds.

"Voted to give said men thirty pounds before they march."

The company was accordingly raised, and one of our own men, in speaking of the expedition, says that they proceeded to Providence by way of Taunton, and soon after went to Tiverton. This latter town was directly opposite Butt's Hill on the island of Rhode Island where the hard fighting later occurred, and where the retreat across Howland's Ferry was made. Generals Greene and Lafayette each commanded divisions under Sullivan, and were stationed at the head of the bay. General Glover with his brigade was there, having been called from his

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station on the Hudson to march with Varnum's brigade under Lafayette for Rhode Island. Upon his arrival in the East he had gathered many recruits in the vicinity of his home, in Essex County, and now stood in readiness to man the boats which were to convey the troops from the mainland to the island. Our own men were again under Jonathan Titcomb, who had led them on the occasion of the Rhode Island alarm the year before, but now he was brigadier-general, having been promoted to that rank in the previous October. His brigade consisted of Essex County militia numbering nine hundred and fifty-seven men, and in it was the regiment commanded by Colonel Wadsworth, consisting of three hundred and ninety-nine rank and file, among whom were the Lynn men. At Providence the regiment was divided, the Lynn soldiers being placed under Captain Thomas Cox and Lieutenant Harris Chadwell. Not only were the men in Glover's brigade competent to handle the boats, but the Lynn soldiers had also been chosen with this work in view, and were accordingly ordered to help in transporting the army and baggage from the mainland to the island. On the tenth of August the landing was made without opposition, and the march begun toward Newport. At about the same time the French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, arrived off Point Judith.

There was intense excitement through all the countryside. The roads toward Tiverton were reported to be filled with men going there, and the shores for miles were lined with anxious watchers. A cannonade was begun between the French fleet and the British batteries at Newport, filling the inhabitants of the city with terror. General Heath, in his memoirs, mentions an amusing

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incident in which one family, in passing from room to room of their house, not knowing where to find a safe place, discovered the black servant sitting with his back at a shot-hole in a door. Upon his master's asking him why he sat there, he answered, "Massa, you never know two shot to go in the same place!" Sullivan's advancing army found that the British had spoiled the wells along their route, and had driven all the cattle from the northern end of the island. Yet, with nothing further to hinder their progress, they had advanced on the fifteenth to within two miles of the enemy. On the nineteenth they took up a position still nearer, and began to feel the effects of the enemy's guns. Meantime the British squadron, under Lord Howe, had appeared in the sound, and it seemed that an engagement must take place between the hostile fleets which were now facing each other. A storm, however, so severe that for more than fifty years it was referred to as "The Great Storm," came on, and both commanders had much to do to look after the safety of their ships, with little thought of attacking each other. The French fleet drew out to sea, and for days no sign of it appeared again. When, at length, it came in sight off Newport, battered by the storm, its commander informed General Sullivan that before he could co-operate in any attack upon the enemy it would be necessary to go to Boston for repairs. No argument could persuade him to have these attended to in Narragansett Bay, and he sailed away, leaving General Sullivan to advance or retreat as best he could. Many of the volunteers, disgusted, returned home. On the twenty-eighth of August a gentleman, writing in Boston of the events as they were daily transpiring, reported that the French fleet was to be seen

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at Nantasket, and that General Lafayette also had come into Boston, having ridden on horseback all the way from Rhode Island in order to meet Count D'Estaing, and to beg him to return and give his much-needed aid to General Sullivan. The appeal, however, availed nothing, as the count declared his ships unfit for service, and that it would take many days to repair them. Roused, however, by the earnestness of his countryman, he promised to march his troops overland to Rhode Island. With that Lafayette galloped back to the army, arriving just at the close of a hard-fought battle at the northern end of the island. General Sullivan had been obliged to withdraw his forces to this point, as it would have been foolhardy to attempt an attack at Newport with the harbors all open to the approach of the British fleet under Lord Howe, but in the battle which took place at Butt's Hill the result was wholly in favor of the American side, and in the final retreat from the island the troops were able to proceed so quietly and safely that they lost neither men nor baggage in the transit. Our Lynn men remained after this for a short time at Tiverton, and then went around to Pawtuxet, and stayed until their term of service had expired. The British, therefore, were still left in possession of Rhode Island.

But now danger seemed to threaten Boston. With the French fleet anchored in the harbor, it was feared that Lord Howe would come up and attack it there,—an event which even Washington regarded as more than likely, for we find him writing General Heath in a letter which reached Boston on the tenth of September, that, while it was his opinion that the enemy would not attack Boston by land, he thought they might endeavor to attack the

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French fleet in the harbor, and advised him to fortify against it.

Already the British had burned the shipping at New Bedford and Fairhaven. At different times fleets were reported off Buzzard's Bay, Barnstable, Plymouth, and Marblehead, and consequently the French fleet, "making a formidable appearance," was so arranged as to protect Boston from an attack. Then it was that the General Court passed a resolve,

"directing that a number of men, equal to one-third part of the train band and alarm lists, should be detached from the militia of certain of the counties to serve at and about Boston or elsewhere, as directed, until January 1, 1779."

Lynn, with its long line of seacoast so near to Boston, might well feel somewhat alarmed at these threatening rumors, and it is not to be wondered at that she began to look to her own defence. Early in October, 1778, a petition, drawn up by her representative, Holton Johnson, was presented to the General Court, to this effect:—

"That the town of Lynn has a seacoast of nearly seven miles in extent and some parts of it very convenient for the landing of troops and any kind of necessaries for our army, and it is the opinion of many people acquainted with those affairs, that if the enemy should make any attempt this way, while the French fleet is in this harbor, that Nahant beach, within the town of Lynn, is the most likely place for them to land, and General Washington while in these parts always kept a guard at said Nahant and the neighborhood thereof. Your petitioner therefore prays that the Honorable Council may be empowered to order the men raised in the town of Lynn to be retained in said town unless necessarily called to some of the neighboring

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towns on an alarm; and your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray."

The request was granted, and is recorded in the following resolve:—

"IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Oct. 7, 1778.

"Whereas, it has been represented to this Court that the town of Lynn is in an exposed position, if the enemy shall make any attempt in those parts, therefore

"Resolved that the Hon. the major part of the Council be desired to give orders that the men which the town of Lynn has raised, as their proportion of the 1200 men, be discharged.

"In Council, Oct. 8, 1778, concurred."

All the alarm which was felt for the safety of Boston at this time proved unnecessary, although there is no doubt that Sir Henry Clinton may have taken pains to allow it to become as wide-spread as possible in order to draw attention from his own movements at New York. There were no further operations at the North this year, although the war still dragged on at the South and on the frontiers. The French fleet remained at Boston until the third of November, when a part of it sailed away for the West Indies, the remainder following the next day. In November, also, the convention troops took their departure for Virginia, having been quartered in the vicinity of Boston for a year. Many of the regiments which had been doing guard duty in the Eastern Department now went home, and General Heath, who had long been in command here, was succeeded by Gates.

Referring now to the individual records of our Lynn soldiers, those of the three years' men still in the service

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were in winter quarters on or near the Hudson. They were in no active engagement again until that of Stony Point in the following July. Indeed, the work which our men did in the army from this time until the close of the war was confined practically to the holding of the posts on the Hudson. This most important section needed to be jealously guarded against any sudden move of the enemy,



*Home of Charles Florence, Revolutionary Soldier
Lincoln Avenue, East Saugus*

for it still remained the strategical centre which would have been eagerly grasped, had the [least opportunity offered. The great Southern campaigns, with their famous victories and defeats, were far removed from our New England men, and there were certainly few New England yeomen who followed the fortunes of the army in the South. One Lynn man has been found who must have been with the Southern army for a time, at least, but why or with whom can only be conjectured from the single letter known to be in existence which was penned

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by him. We give the letter as it was written, undated, and with little connection perhaps with our story, yet of sufficient interest, it may be, to warrant placing it here:—

“WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, May 10th.

“*Dear Brother*

“Tho I have been long Silent yet it has Not proseded from any Dis Respect to you Nor any Neglect towards you. But my curstanses have been so unsettled that indead I knew not what to Write there has not pased A Day When I have not thought of you And all the Rest of my famely but My afairs have been so unsettled that I put it off from post from another In hopes to inform you where I Expet to go And I now Belive it is pretty Sertin That I Shall go to frans and Expet to Imbark in about 15 Days at the furthest. And if Should Live and Do well I hope to be home in the fall. If there is any thing Coming to me from the State pray inform yourself in the mater as well as you Can And inform Connell Newhall that I have got my Discharge when my time was out and beg the favour of him to be so kind as to See that I do not lose what Litell I have So Dearly Earned in The Servis. I have hard their was some money made a present by the State to the Soldiers in Considration of the under Valuing the paper Curency. I have now two years pay Dew in the Regement And Clothing. My Duty to my father and sister and all asking frinds.

your Loving Brother

“CHARLES FLORENCE.”

While the service of our men in the army during the later years of the war probably brought few of them into the great military operations of the time, there was a goodly number, belonging to the navy, who were seeing plenty of active service. At the beginning of the war there was no navy, and that which was gradually gathered together could never have been considered a strong one, yet, such as it was, with the aid of the privateers which

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plied the ocean throughout the war, it succeeded in bringing in many valuable prizes, representing many thousands and even millions of dollars in value. The man most active perhaps, at the beginning of the war, in fitting out the vessels which sailed from Marblehead, Beverly, and Salem was Colonel John Glover, later as general so familiar to our Lynn soldiers. One statement showing the earnestness with which the business of privateering was carried on gives the fact that "in a single season there was despatched from Salem and Beverly fifty-two privateers, chiefly owned in Salem and Beverly, which mounted about seven hundred and fifty guns, and carried crews of nearly four thousand men." It is not strange, then, to find among these crews names of men belonging to the neighboring town of Lynn. The records of the Lynn sailors are very incomplete, and it is only now and then possible to even indicate the service which they performed.

In the summer of 1779 a famous expedition was undertaken against the British post which had just been established at the mouth of the Penobscot River for the purpose of keeping that region free from Boston and Salem cruisers which preyed upon British supply ships as they came into the country. The council of the state directed the Board of War to engage as many private armed vessels as were suitable to combine with the state and Continental armed vessels in an attempt to dislodge the enemy from this point, the owners of private vessels to be reimbursed by the state for any damage or loss sustained by them in the enterprise. Land forces were also gathered from York and Cumberland Counties to co-operate with this fleet. The people in New

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England were again roused to do their utmost in what promised to be an important undertaking. Nineteen armed vessels, carrying three hundred and twenty-four guns, with more than two thousand men, and twenty transports, with nearly four thousand troops, sailed for the coast of Maine, where a landing was made on the twenty-sixth of July. Commodore Dudley Saltonstall, of the ship "Warren," was in charge of the fleet, while General Solomon Lovell commanded the land forces, and Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Revere had charge of the artillery. It was found upon arrival that the British under Colonel Maclean had not completed their fortifications, and that there were but three armed vessels in the harbor, and yet General Lovell hesitated to attack, not being sufficiently supported, as he thought, by the fleet. He therefore proceeded to erect works for himself, and began a desultory firing upon the enemy's fort. This he continued for two weeks, while he sent to Boston for reinforcements. While waiting thus practically inactive, Admiral Sir George Collier at New York heard of the expedition, and sailed for the scene of action with five English vessels and an armament greatly superior to that of the Americans. The entire American fleet was captured or destroyed, and the land forces, retreating through the wilderness, after weeks of wandering, made their way home. The "Warren," a new ship of thirty guns, had on board at least one Lynn man, Onesimus Newhall, of the North Parish. During the engagement with the British Mr. Newhall was obliged to jump overboard and swim ashore to escape capture. This he was enabled to do, however, and lived to go through many other exciting experiences as a privateer.

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The unfortunate result of the expedition was said to have involved Massachusetts in a debt of seven million dollars, "not so distressing," according to General Sullivan, "as the disgrace."

Some of the vessels which became very well known during the war, and which from time to time numbered Lynn men in their crews, were the frigate "Boston," ship "Protector," brig "Hazard," brigantine "Freedom," brigantine "Ranger," ship "Junius Brutus," ship "Thomas," ship "Pilgrim," ship "Tartar," ship "Rhodes," brigantine "Tyrannicide," brigantine "Rover," brig "Ann," and bark "Gen. Gates." The brigantine "Tyrannicide" is one which is frequently mentioned in the records of the Lynn sailors, and among those who sailed in her at various times were Surgeon Dr. Martin Herrick, Timothy Newhall, John Proctor, and James Rich. Joseph Proctor, Jr., was reported as on the "Boston" in December, 1778. This frigate, under the command of the somewhat famous Captain Samuel Tucker, of Marblehead, was the one chosen to convey John Adams on his mission to France in February of that year.

The "Warren" was burned by her commander at Penobscot, and the "Tyrannicide" and "Hazard" were also in the unfortunate Penobscot expedition.

With this very brief mention of the fact that Lynn had her part in the naval service of the Revolution,—that service which was so filled with excitement, adventure, and even profit to those who engaged in it,—we pass on to the closing scenes of the war in so far as her men were concerned in them.

Chapter X

AT WEST POINT

ON the seventh of October, 1777, the second battle of Bemis's Heights was fought, and on the seventeenth of October, when Burgoyne signed the articles of convention drawn up by the still unconquered foe, the British gave up their hold on the Hudson River. Nevertheless there remained the hope, if not the expectation, that by some turn in the fortunes of war they might yet seize this centre, and effect that division of the colonies which had at first been planned. Well realizing this fact, no amount of vigilance was spared by the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces to keep this region well fortified, for even the moving of active hostilities toward the South did not remove the danger which might at any time threaten the posts on the Hudson. The summer of 1780 came near furnishing the opportunity for that turn of affairs which would have thrown this region into the hands of the enemy and changed perhaps the whole course of the war. It was the period which has often been referred to as the darkest, and even the soul of Washington was ready to succumb under the weight of discouragements which he had been obliged to meet. In New York, since 1776, the British had ruled with a high hand. Few inhabitants were there save Royalist sympathizers, the Loyalist merchants, and the great army which was in possession, and the city showed the effects of its alien population. Twice it had been swept by fire, and for nearly three years some of its

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churches and largest buildings had been used to house the unhappy prisoners which the British had taken. In the harbor had been anchored not only the British ships-of-war, but the terrible prison-ships upon which the starved and miserable patriot soldiers perished by hundreds. Impossible as it may be to fully picture to ourselves the misery to our former soldiers of confinement in these infamous pens, something of their horror we feel as we read the descriptions which have come down to us, and we scan the records of our own men to see if any perchance suffered this special torture. We find not infrequently the words "taken prisoner" beside their names, and know that in most cases this meant taken to the prisons in New York. More than one died on the most notorious of all the prison-ships, the "Jersey," which was anchored in New York Harbor during the latter years of the war. In view of the fact that it was not always easy to keep their own army supplied with provisions, it is scarcely to be wondered at, perhaps, that prisoners taken by the British should have died of starvation as well as disease, but the cruelty and inhumanity of the treatment which they otherwise received can only be explained by the barbarism of war.

The winter of 1779 and 1780 had been an especially hard one for both armies, marked as it was by such severe cold that for weeks the harbor and rivers were frozen solid enough for teams to drive across. The snow along the Hudson, where the Americans were encamped, was said to have been four feet deep on a level, and it was with great difficulty that communication could be kept open between the posts. Many soldiers that winter suffered from frost-bites, and one man was frozen to death

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on his way from New Windsor to the garrison at West Point. Yet New York streets were brilliant with red-coats and gay uniforms, and balls and dinners beguiled the time for the foreign soldiers, and kept up the courage of the merchant and small trader. There were no military operations at the North during this time, and the spring saw the departure for the South of a portion of the main body of the British army under Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis. Clinton did not remain long at the South, but his army during its short stay effected a notable victory at Charleston, where it captured General Lincoln and his whole army. Leaving Lord Cornwallis in command there, Sir Henry returned to New York just in time to prevent a combined attack against the city by the American and French armies. The arrival of reinforcements from France, under Count Rochambeau, had suggested to Washington the possibility of wresting from the enemy the city which was now the only point held by them in the North with the exception of the post at the mouth of the Penobscot. The plan had to be given up, however, when Clinton appeared with the strong naval force which he was able to gather. There arrived with him from the South at this time, as his adjutant, the young Major John André, and at about the same time General Arnold, who had been in command at Philadelphia, was appointed by Washington commander at West Point. Then were brought into close proximity the two men whose names were henceforth to be inseparably united. General Arnold, who had been conspicuous for his bravery in Canada, at Fort Stanwix, in the vicinity of his home in Connecticut, and at Saratoga, admired and eagerly followed by

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the men whom he had commanded, trusted of Washington, now came to West Point, resentful and revengeful, with the deliberate plan of betraying into the hands of the enemy the forts on the Hudson. In an old colonial mansion at the lower end of Broadway Sir Henry Clinton and his adjutant, André, discussed the plot and perfected their plans. In another colonial mansion on the east bank of the Hudson River, a little below West Point, General Arnold made his headquarters, and there brought his beautiful young wife and infant son. There too, he continued his secret and anonymous correspondence which he had already begun with Sir Henry Clinton through André. His own identity, however, was now revealed to his correspondent, since he wrote from the house which was known to be the headquarters of the commander of the Northern Army.

Most of the men whose duty it was to hold the posts upon the Hudson were from New England, and some of our Lynn men, whose term of service had not run out, had been for some time in the neighborhood, serving under Colonel Rufus Putnam and Colonel Groaton. Now, however, in response to the call of the state for additional troops for the service on the Hudson, and later to the request of Washington for a reinforcement of militia in addition to the state's regular quota, more than fifty men marched from Lynn to West Point. Under the first resolve, dated June the fifth, 1780, the state had called for men to serve for six months, and the selectmen of Lynn had met accordingly and provided for raising her quota. This body of men under Captains George Webb and Thomas Pritchard arrived at Springfield on the eleventh of July, where they joined General Glover's

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brigade, and proceeded to their destination. In response to the second resolve of June the twenty-second, whereby nearly five thousand men were to be raised, our own men were enlisted in Captain Addison Richardson's company in the Essex County regiment, which was placed under the command of Colonel Nathaniel Wade, and were to serve three months. These men, therefore, together with the six months' men previously enlisted, were in the neighborhood of West Point when General Arnold arrived to take command. Whatever experiences they had during this short service,—and to a few probably it was their first service, since there were some whose ages ranged from sixteen to nineteen years,—all sank into insignificance beside the development and discovery of what General Glover described as that “most infernal plot,” the frustration of which, he said, “must be imputed to the interposition of Divine Providence.” At the risk of repeating an oft-told tale, it seems necessary to outline the main features of this mournful affair in order to bring before us the event which cast a gloom over the whole army, and caused Washington to exclaim sadly, “Whom can we trust now!”

Benedict Arnold came early upon the stage of American military affairs, having, as a boy of fifteen, run away to serve in the old French War, not, however, with any distinction, but bearing out the estimate of his Connecticut neighbors, who described him as “an uncommonly active, prompt, saucy, roguish, and impetuous lad,”—“rash, headstrong, and regardless alike of friends and foes.” As a man, at the beginning of the Revolution, those who knew him best considered him a man “of sensitive pride and temper,” yet “generous and

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thoughtful of others." Such a man he had shown himself during the early years of the war, and, had he received on the battlefield of Saratoga a mortal wound instead of the severe one which only for long prevented his actively

A facsimile of a handwritten military pass on aged, torn paper. The text is written in cursive and reads: "Camp King's Farm 1765", "Permit the bearer with", "five more to pass to", "West Point to bring up", "sick men to hospital", "and return to where it may concern", "Wm. Pinkham Lt". Below the signature, "(No. 2)" is written.

A facsimile of a handwritten military pass on aged, torn paper. The text is written in cursive and reads: "West Point August the 20th 1780", "Let the Bearer take 5 Boxes 1 Barrel of", "Musket Co-bridge & 2 Bag with flints", "John Banks Lt". Below the signature, "(No. 1)" is written.

Facsimiles of Soldiers' Passes given to Daniel Allen Breed Newhall

engaging in military service, his name would have been among those most honored in the annals of the war. Long before that battle of Saratoga, however, he had been greatly aggrieved by the slights which he felt had been put upon him by Congress, and he had written to Wash-

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ington in complaint and sworn to Gates, "By heavens! I am a villain if I seek not a brave revenge for injured honor!" In June, 1778, after the departure of the British from Philadelphia, he had been placed in command there, and for two years lived in a style scarcely less gay and extravagant than had his British predecessor, Sir William Howe. Attractive in appearance and manner, he became a favorite among the moderate Tories of the city, and in the spring of 1779 married the beautiful daughter of one of them. His manner of living was bitterly criticised by the pronounced patriots, who remonstrated with him not only for his expenditures, but also for his apparent friendliness with the Loyalist party. With the accumulation of debts, suspicion became aroused against him, and, finally, charges preferred by the council of Pennsylvania were referred by Congress to a court-martial. The many months which were allowed to elapse before he was brought to trial served to embitter him the more, and, although he was finally exonerated from the charges which involved his honor, and received only a mild reprimand from the Commander-in-Chief for the acts which were deemed irregular, his decision had already been formed to go over to the British side. For months he had been corresponding with Sir Henry Clinton under an assumed name, representing himself as an American officer, high in rank, who for sufficient considerations would throw in his lot with that of the invading army. In order to carry out his design, he applied to Washington for the command of the post at West Point. Washington would have preferred to give him a command on the right wing of the army, but upon his still pleading disability on account of his wound the

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Commander-in-Chief, with perfect confidence still in his integrity, granted his request. Thus during the first week of August, Arnold established himself on the Hudson.

The correspondence with Clinton now reached a point where only a personal interview was needed to perfect the plan of betraying into British hands the posts which Arnold commanded. The time chosen for such an interview was when Washington, whose headquarters were at Tappan, only a few miles below West Point, was absent in Connecticut in conference with the French Count Rochambeau.

At night, on the twenty-first of September, Major John André, wearing the gold-laced uniform of a British officer, covered by a long blue coat, was rowed to the western shore of the Hudson River, and landed at a lonely place a few miles below Stony Point. There he was met by Arnold, and a conference between the two men lasted until nearly dawn, when Arnold proposed that André should remain on shore until the next night. Proceeding to the house of Joshua H. Smith, the man who had rowed André ashore, their plans were soon completed. Drawings of the fort and an account of its defences were given to André, and the following night, clothed in the dress of a citizen, he was conducted by his host across King's Ferry to the eastern side of the river, where the two men spent the night. On the morning of the twenty-third, Smith accompanied André to the neutral ground beyond the American lines, and then left him with the assurance that the road to the British lines was plain and safe, although advising him to keep to the left-hand inland route. André, however, disregarded this latter advice, and soon after parting with Smith turned off to the right, taking

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the river road. Before noon he was taken, just as he was emerging from Sleepy Hollow, above Tarrytown. The three men who stepped out upon the road to bar his progress, he at first supposed to belong to that class of men called cow-boys—marauders and plunderers—who yet belonged to the British side, and with whom he would be safe. Quickly discovering his mistake, he showed them his pass from Arnold, but too late to allay their suspicions, and he was accordingly searched. The incriminating papers were found in the soles of his stockings. No arguments or offers of money would induce the men to let him go,—“Not for ten thousand guineas,” declared the leader, would they release him,—and his horse was accordingly turned about, and he was led to North Castle, where the men delivered their prisoner into the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who commanded there. The next morning Colonel Jameson ordered André to be taken to Arnold’s headquarters, the papers being sent to the Commander-in-Chief at Tappan. Had André succeeded in reaching Arnold, his own escape, as well as that of Arnold, would have been assured. As it was, he had scarcely set out when Major Tallmadge, next in rank to Colonel Jameson, arrived at North Castle, and, learning what had occurred, immediately suspected Arnold’s treachery. By his earnest advice an officer was sent to overtake André and return him to North Castle. A letter, however, had been sent to Arnold, apprising him of the capture of “one John Anderson,” which was allowed to proceed on its way. This, reaching Arnold just before the return of Washington from his mission at Hartford, enabled the traitor to make good his escape, although too late for any assistance to be given to André. The

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latter was taken to Salem and then to headquarters at Tappan.

The immediate works at West Point were now, in the absence of their commander, Colonel Lamb, in the temporary command of our Massachusetts colonel, Nathaniel Wade, and under the latter were more than half of the Lynn men who had left home that summer. The letter which Washington immediately sent to Colonel Wade contained the following:—

“General Arnold is gone to the enemy. I have just now received a line from him enclosing one to Mrs. Arnold, dated on board the Vulture. I request that you will be as vigilant as possible, and as the enemy may have it in contemplation to attempt some enterprise, *even to-night*, against these posts, I wish you to make, immediately after the receipt of this, the best disposition you can of your force, so as to have a proportion of men in each work on the west side of the river.”

This gives us a hint regarding the position which a part of our men occupied at this time.

At Tappan a court-martial, ordered by Washington, was held, in which sat some of the ablest generals of the war, among them General Glover, of Marblehead. The unanimous report was that André, as a spy from the enemy, should suffer death. Yet his interesting personality and manly bearing had drawn to himself the sympathy of both armies, and the sad ending of his career was one which was felt with deep regret by friend and foe.

On Monday, October the second, 1780, Major André was led to the gallows, his request to be shot having been refused. General Glover, in whose brigade were the six

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months' men from Lynn, was officer of the day, and there is little doubt that these Lynn men were present at the execution. One of the men chosen to beat taps with muffled drums was Isaac Organ, of Lynn, a drum-major in Colonel John Groaton's regiment and famous in his day as a drummer. Thus was closed one of the most pathetic incidents of the war, and one which was told beside Lynn firesides for many years by men who were eye-witnesses of the event.

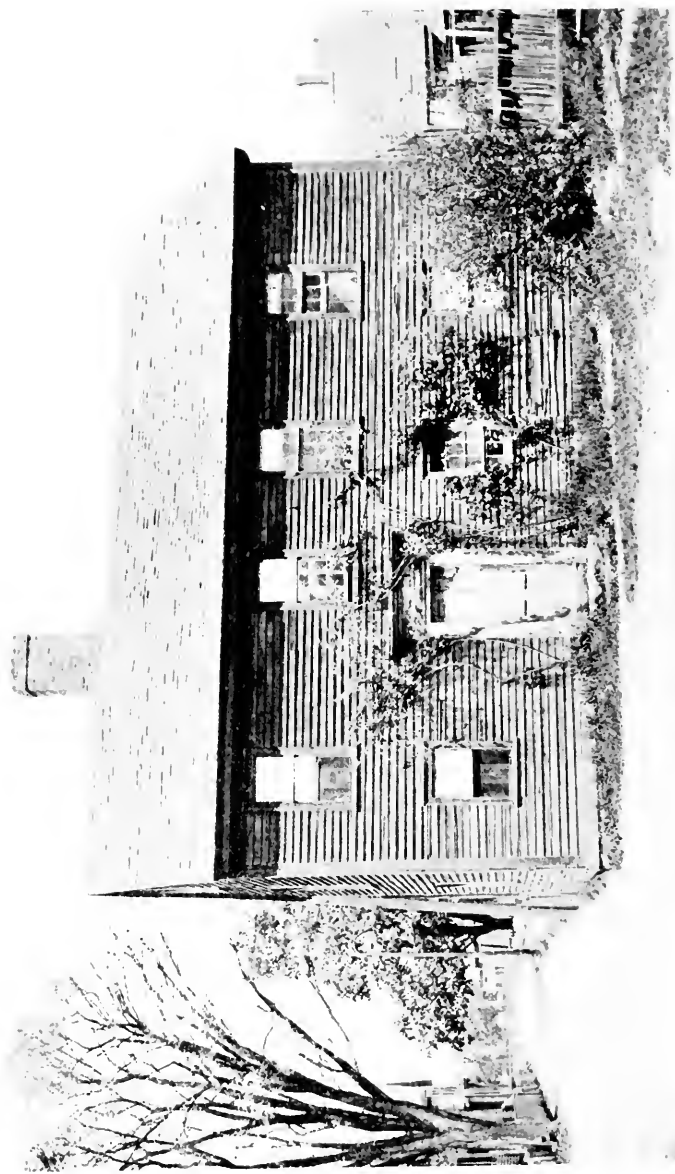
The following lists will give, so far as is known, the men who went from Lynn to West Point that summer:

SIX MONTHS' MEN DRAFTED FOR SERVICE IN JULY, 1780, FROM THE TOWN OF LYNN.

John Mead	Oliver Walton
Ebenezer Parsons	James Newhall
Joshua Danforth	Noah Newhall
Andrew Mansfield	Allen Newhall
Joseph Burrill	Blaney Newhall
Ezra Moulton	Joseph Lindsey
Philip Coats	Theophilus Farrington
John Brown	Benjamin Jacobs
John Flynn	Daniel Parrott
Andrew Newhall	Thos. Hitchings
Benjamin Newhall	Ebenezer Ramsdell
Samuel Bates	Richard Pappoon

THREE MONTHS' MEN IN CAPTAIN RICHARDSON'S COMPANY, COLONEL NATHANIEL WADE'S ESSEX COUNTY REGIMENT, ENLISTED IN JULY, 1780, FOR SERVICE AT WEST POINT.

Jos. Stocker, 1st Lieut.	Joseph Lewis
Josiah Martin, 2nd Lieut.	Benjamin Massey



THE ISAAC ORGAN HOUSE

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John Ireson, Sergt.	Thomas Newman
Nathl. Tarbox, Sergt.	Solomon Newhall
Micajah Newhall, Corporal	David Newhall
Thos. Cheever, Corporal	Josiah Rhodes
Wm. Mansfield, Corporal	Joseph Rhodes
Thos. Attwill, Fifer	John Symons (may be "Simms")
John Cheever	John Smith
Robert Felt	Wm. Tarbox
John Hallowell	James Thompson
Joshua Howard	Nathaniel Viall
Rufus Johnson	Thos. White
Isaac Lewis	Caleb Wellman
Caleb Lewis	Micajah Burrill

Chapter XI

THE END OF THE STORY

THERE is little more to record regarding the movements of the soldiers of Lynn. Only once after this are we able to discover that recruits were sent to the army. This was in response to a patriotic appeal to the people for long-term enlistments, embodied in a resolve in the council of Massachusetts on the second of December, 1780. It was at a time when the army was in the greatest destitution, and enlistments were hard to obtain. Washington expressed the need in a private letter, in which he said:—

“We are without money; without provision and forage except what is taken by impress; without clothing; and shall shortly be, in a manner, without men. In a word we have lived by expedients till we can live no longer.”

General Glover wrote to the council of Massachusetts on the eleventh of December:—

“It is now four days since your line of the army has eaten one mouthful of bread. We have no money, nor will anybody trust us. The best of wheat is at this moment selling in the state of New York for three fourths of a dollar per bushel and your army is starving for want. On the first of January something will turn up, if not speedily prevented, which your officers cannot be accountable for.”

The prospect of three years in the army under such conditions was not bright, to say the least, and drafts had to be made in order to comply with the request. We find

BY THE HONOURABLE

MAJOR-GENERAL KNOX,

Commanding the AMERICAN FORCES on Hudson's River.

David Tutts in
the *Regiment*,
being enlisted for Three Years, is hereby honourably discharged from
the Service of the United States.

Given in the State of New-York,

the 13 Day of

1780

By the General's Command,

Wm. Mifflin

REGISTERED in the Books of the Regiment,

J. Trappe Adjutant

DISCHARGE OF DAVID TUTTS

The term of Three Years for which Ebenezer Burril of Captain
Noah Nichols's company of Artillery Gentlemen, engaged
to serve, having expired, He is hereby honourably Discharge
d the Service of the United States.

Enclosed my Order at the Park of
Artillery near Morris Town this Sixth Day of March 1780

Wm. Mifflin

Wm. Mifflin

DISCHARGE OF EBENEZER BURRIL

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that it was not until the fourth of the following January that a vote was taken in Lynn, at a town meeting held at Jacob Newhall's tavern, to raise twenty-seven men for the Continental Army. At the same time it was voted to grant as much money as would purchase twenty-seven hundred silver dollars, or the value thereof in gold, to pay the men. The committee chosen to have the whole matter in charge consisted of Jacob Newhall, Joseph Ballard, and John Upton. Some days later there were added to the committee the captains of each company and Nathan Hawkes, Captain Thomas Cox, Benjamin Johnson, Lieutenant Thomas Townsend, and Colonel John Mansfield. Even with such effort it was months before the full number was obtained, yet, when it is seen that some of the men engaged dated back their enlistments to the year 1777, it is realized how great was their contribution to the cause of independence.

The twenty-seven men finally sent were recruited for various regiments, and were as follows:—

Samuel Vial	Charles Hopkins
James Ramsdell	John Rhodes
Samuel Brown	Nathaniel Cushing
John Jacobs	Noah Parker
Jacob Hart, Sergt.	Benj. —ridge
Ebenezer Hart, Corporal	John Flinn
Richard Hill, Corporal	Jos. Williams
Aaron Nourse	John Brown
William Paul	John Marden
Calvin Newhall	James Welman
Charles Watts	Michael Fleming
Nathan Hitchings	John Swain
John Mead	Cuff Gott (Caesar)
Jos. Adams	

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From a careful study of the individual records of the Lynn soldiers it will be seen that little, if any, part was taken by them in the remaining hostilities of the war. These being from this time on confined to the South, the duties of most of the New England men were the no less important ones of holding the posts at the North already belonging to the Americans. Even after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Washington considered it of the utmost importance to keep the ranks of the army supplied and the posts defended until an actual declaration of peace should remove the possibility of some new hostile movement. Consequently, the series of cantonments established in the region of the Hudson, forming a wide half-circle around the British base at New York City, were kept fully manned, and in these our men were quartered until furlough or discharge enabled them to turn homeward. No doubt they shared to the full the discontent and discouragement which prevailed in the Northern Army during the later years of the war, yet, although desertions were frequent, examples are scarcely to be found of our own men thus leaving the army.

When, to the great joy of all, formal announcement of the cessation of hostilities was made on the nineteenth of April, 1783, the anniversary of their beginning at Lexington, many men, including some from Lynn, were allowed to go home on furlough, taking their weapons with them. These will be noted in the biographical sketches which follow. They were, of course, never called upon to rejoin the army, and the remainder of the soldiers whose three years' term was not over when the final peace was declared were honorably discharged. We may well imagine that the journey home on foot was

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joyfully undertaken, and that at the farm-houses, where the soldiers were kindly entertained, the rehearsal of their experiences was eagerly listened to.

On their arrival home, work on the farm and at the shoemaker's bench was again taken up, and their part as citizens once more assumed. Again they were heard in the deliberations of the town meeting, and very soon they began to share in the interests and anxieties which resulted from the newly gained independence.



*Group in Old Western Burial Ground,
June 17, 1904*

Many of these men spent the rest of their lives in the little town from whence they had marched away to the war; and in the old-time burial-places they lie surrounded by their families and neighbors. Many of their long-forgotten resting-places are now suitably marked by the bronze marker of the Sons of the American Revolution, and where for years no stone was raised in their memory a recent provision of the government of the United

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States has made it possible to place at the head of every known grave of a Revolutionary soldier, the marble stone which records his name and the fact of his honorable service.

It may be well in this connection to refer to the commemorative services which were held on the seventeenth of June, 1904, in honor of the Revolutionary soldiers of Lynn.

In the year 1903 and the spring of 1904 stones and markers had been placed at the graves of all the known Revolutionary soldiers in the various burial-grounds of what constituted the old town of Lynn. The seventeenth of June of the latter year was chosen as a day of dedication of such of these memorials as had been placed within the precincts of the present city. On the morning of that day, flags were placed in the bronze markers at the graves, and in the afternoon, on the invitation of the Old Essex Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, and the Lynn Historical Society, there gathered at the old Western Burial Ground, and later at the First Congregational Church, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of Revolutionary sires. These were not necessarily members of patriotic societies, although many, no doubt, were such, but they came together simply as those who would do honor to the memory of men whom the world had forgotten, but who had been identified with the best and noblest work that Lynn had ever helped to accomplish. It was a unique gathering, composed as it was, to so large an extent, of representatives of old Lynn families, and it was marked by a dignity and absence of noise and parade which would have well suited the simple taste and manner of the earlier day

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which the meeting recalled. It seemed fitting, too, that such memorial services should be held in the church whose traditions were those of the old "Meeting-House," where our men of the Revolution had so often gathered.

The exercises, which served to review something of the history of the Lynn soldiers, were also the occasion of formally dedicating and turning over to the city the care and preservation of the memorials which had been



*Group of School-children at the Dedication of
Memorials to Revolutionary Soldiers*

erected in their honor. And it was felt to be a matter of some pride and satisfaction that the patient work of years had resulted in the placing of more flags in markers of the Sons of the American Revolution than could be found in any other city of the United States. One hundred and ninety-six graves had thus been marked,—one hundred and four in the old Western Ground, twelve in the Eastern Ground, eleven in Pine Grove Cemetery, thirty-five in Saugus, and thirty-four in Lynnfield. In

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the second part of this volume will be found the record of the burial-places of as many of the Revolutionary soldiers of Lynn as are to-day known. In many cases where the men died in service, it has been only possible to give that fact, the exact place of burial being unknown.

In the following chapter will be given the journal of Henry Hallowell, a Revolutionary soldier of Lynn, who thought it worth while to write out his experiences for the benefit of those who should come after him. His interesting account gives many side-lights upon what has been here related, and its addition will finish the story of Lynn's part in the great Revolution. It was not a brilliant part, not full of striking incident and distinguished valor, perhaps, but it was the part of a simple, true-hearted, patriotic community which gave of its best and remained steadfast through "the times which tried men's souls."



COVER OF HALLOWELL JOURNAL

Chapter XII

THE HALLOWELL JOURNAL

“The following account is not
Written But little grammatical
but simple and plain, not git-
ting much learning in former
Days as children do now.

H. H.”

A NARRATIVE OF HENRY HALLOWELL, OF LYNN, RESPECTING THE REVOLUTION IN 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, TO JANUARY 17, 1780.

PREVIOUS to going into the Continental Army I was six months in 1775 under the command of Harris Chadwell, of Breed's End, Lynn, guarding our sea coasts. The British Army being in Boston We kept a watch at the gate leading to Nahant and at the marsh below Shepard street and at Newhall's Landing, so called. On Sundays people carried there guns to meeting and Lodged them in the porch in service.

In the course of 1775, A Distressing Night we saw by a report that the enemy was landed at the king's beach, so called which put the people in great consternation in the Body of the town, so that the sick was removed and Whole families fled. Myself and many others, under the command of Fredk. Breed all under arms set off to meet them But proved a false report and sd. Breed

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was so active got recommended and was commissioned as 2d. Lieut. and was in the campaign of 1776.

In 1775 Col. Mansfield and Col. Gerish was broach for laying with their regiment at Cable hill while the people were suffering at Bunker hill the day it was taken, June 17, 1775. The same summer Capt. Lindsey, of Lynn was broke for misconduct—him that was called money maker Lindsey—and Daniel Galeucia his Lieut. took the command as Captain.

About the time of my six months was out in guarding the seacoast I inlisted for one year and joined Col. Hutchinsons Regt. the first day of January 1776 at Winter Hill, so called, west of Bunker hill, and in Capt. Ezra Newhall's company and Did Duty in the Ranks that year. Our Army lay at Winter Hill, plowed hill, Prospect hill, Cable hill, Cambridge and Roxbury, and soon got to Dochester hills. On the last named hills we placed hogsheds of stone and other stuff if in case of an attack to let them Down in order to Brake the British ranks but had no occasion.

Some of our men made a fire in the night on the side of Dochester hill and while by the fire they threw a ball from Boston and killed some of the men, the effects I saw next morning.

A party of our men went in the Night to the foot of Bunker hill and set fire to some houses and Brought off some prisoners, part of them I saw; among them was a woman and husband.

A part of our regiment was some time in the colleges at Cambridge. The enemy would throw shot and shell both day and night. We built a fort at Leechmere point in the winter of 1775 and very cold winter it was. Old

SCORERS

For the United Colonies of New England, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, the Colonies of Maryland, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, and South Carolina to Edmund, Lord of Justice.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

COMMISSION OF FREEDOM BILL

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general Putnam commanded the army for Genl. Washington had not got here, and General Putnam gave out word that when Charles river was so strong as to bear him and men across he ment to pay the enemy a visit, which was in Boston. One day when we were fortifying I left the fort and when I had got to the edge of the river I got in company with two men, tho strangers. We soon agreed to try the river. The method we took was a rock which we would throw before us and so would follow it and when we had got near to the channel to try it, there appeared about fifty British and begun to fire at us and their balls fell by our heads and legs. The river being ruff I got twenty-four in all and we got about eighty and carried them on shore and were all called Brave fellows. And not long after I went home and was reprimanded by my friends for my conduct but kept eight balls for years.

And as our army had got almost around Boston they left it in the night of the 17th of March 1776 and not Long after got to New York and joyned genl. Clinton. But left some ships and small craft in Nantasket road. Next day the 18th of March our regiment went into Boston and made up of their barracks stoves and beer they left. One time I made a search in their cabins to see what I could find and found one silver dollar and two others was found by my mate. Next day another search was made I found a raiser and one man found a gun or small arm.

When we lay at Winter hill there was a house which stood Between Winter hill and Bunker hill; in order to save the house for our guards our folks almost did cover sd. house with turf and gravil so that the enemy could

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not Beat it Down with their Balls. Before the British left Boston they threw a shot and took an Adjts. head of as I am informed.

While they lay in Boston a man of theirs came so near our lines got shot by our folks and Burried in such a manner as to see his red coat. Another time while in Boston they threw a shell and Broak on the ground and made a large hole. Before it reached our Works myself alone got over the Breastwork and went some rods to the hole. Just as I had got there they threw a cannon ball and just cleared me and went over the Brestwork and took a man's both legs off as I understood. We often threw our balls into Boston. Another time I was centinel over our grounded arms. While the party was fortifying they threw a cannon ball and struck the ground Near me and I got sd. ball and sold it for a shilling.

Another time they threw a Shell into one of our forts and ript up the platform where a Cannon stood. A sentinel was on sd. platform and not killed. While the British was in Boston they Deprived the inhabitants of all their guns the ruins I saw in the old State House and likewise took up the pews in one meeting house to train their horses in.

There ships lay in Nantaskett road and our general not being satisfied to see them there sent hundreds of us in the Night in flat bottom boats to Drive them off accordingly we went our oars all muffled and landed on Nantasket hill. Previous to this Capt. Manley, or Mugford, sent in a prize through the gut so called at plesent point with a large quantity of powder, etc. Sd. ship got aground and for fear of their barges myself and hundreds saved the ship and cargo and a Very great prize for us.

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But respecting their ships in Nantasket road, we lay in readiness untill Day brake and then begun to throw our cannon ball and cut away their rigin. The ships very quick got under way but set fire to some of their small craft, but we soon cleared the road. But they sent a Boat after they got out and Blew up the lighthouse this I saw.

Not long after the ship Capt. Mugford took was fixed under British colors and placed in sd. Nantasket rd. and a Number of their transports that was coming to Boston was made prizes to our people a number of British men was taken prisoners. We staid in Boston and round there and repaired the craft but found the cannon disarmed 42 pounds and a number of smaller ones their arms off.

In the summer of 1776 our troops left Boston and round there and set out for New York and went to Norwich then went on by water through hell's gate and our regiment stayd. in New York one night and went on to fort Independence and soon got to fort Washington. A battle was fought between fort Washington and New York and our regt. went to reinforce and just as we got to the Battle ground it ended. One man by the name of Bowden was killed. A Lynn man as I was informed—he belonged to another regiment. While we lay there our folks sent a fire ship towards New York to set fire to their shipping the men on board to swim on shore & have a bounty but did them no damage.

One time I went on the outer guard towards York and we Sentanals was placed considerable Distance from each other and about mid Night I heard a party coming which I thought was the enemy. Being very much exposd I got

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very much surprised But it turned out was our men in order to Double the guard the Like I never knew before or since. The British ships would pass by fort Washington up the North river and although we sunk vessels and shevorde freses so called could not stop them. Our gallies and general Washington's barge had to flee from the wharf up before these ships to prevent Being taken and run the galleys on shore. But one day we saw the barge coming back supposed her to be a British barge I was ordered with a party to place ourselves near the shore all loded to stop said barge and just about to fire Capt. Knox's Artillery threw a shot from the fort and killed several of our own men them I saw which was a sorrowful sight.

While we lay at Fort Washington the plan of the fort was missing and conveyd to the enemy as was thought by the waiter a Black man to the Ingenear of the fort. Sd. black man was put under guard and was sentenced to rec. 10 lashes a Day untill he owned were it was. He was placed on his belly stretched out to four stakes his hands and feet on the ground. I have stood by and see the Blood run on the grass he had not been punished I suppose more than a week before the fort was taken But he pled not guilty. I never saw more of him. On the eastern part of sd. fort was a great gully and at the head of sd. gully we had large cannon. This part of sd fort was called the weakest part and as there troops come up this Narrow place our men with those heavy cannon cut as I was informed Lains through their ranks, but it was said the men at the cannon got all killed. The loss of our men there 2448. But before the fort got taken most of our regiment got sent over the river to fort Lee

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and to releave those at fort Washington once a week and when the week ended myself and others was prepared to go over to releave about sunset, But was ordered to the tents to be ready at a minutes warning. What hindered us from going I never knew. Next morning the fort was taken and some of our Lynn men got taken and carried to York as prisoners and stayd there about six months and sent home on parole. The same day the British took the fort they moved up the river to cut general Washington and his men off. Then we at fort Lee had in great haste to flee and left cannon, a mortar, some clothes and some money, etc. and there being a small river northwest of the North River and a bridge over it, before we passed sd. bridge we made a stand to engage them. Myself with others put on a second shirt, not knowing but we must throw off our packs in an engagement, but they would not advance towards us. Then we took up the sd. bridge and went on but our case looked dismul and then about thirty of us was sent back in order to save some guards if possible that was left some way off when we left the fort. Accordingly we went down some miles and then with a boat got a part of sd. guards across sd. river. I had spoak for a meal of victuls of the Inhabitants, being very much wore out, But before I got it we was directed by one of our light horse men to flee or we should be cut off. Accordingly about thirty in all took to a swamp & could not get through by reason of a running crick. We found a dead man in sd. swamp and James Ramsdell of Lynn we lost in the swamp. But he got to camp again finally. We had to finally come out by the place we went in by—then it was candle light and that pestered us. The enemy was in a large

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gully and their lights was burning. We consulted each other But very still. Some moved to go to them But others said No, But on the whole we movd. on and soon came to a town where part of the British was but very luckily we saw a man who was a friend tould what street to take to clear them & soon got through the town not taken, and travild on to about midnight and Being much Exuasted myself and one more so failed we took to a stack of fodder. The others movd. on, But the Main body was miles ahead and while we lay in sd stack the enemy light horse men as we concluded passing by and a great fright it was to us for we thought we were gone. But it turned out we got to the main Body that Day, they being halted. Washington and we saw a trying scene thus for us all. We soldiers had but little time to eat or sleep. One time we borrowd a large iron kittle & put in it about a quarter of beef for our camp, while I stood over it. We were soon obliged to leave it and it seemed to me as if I for one must starve.

Soon after fifty of us under the command of a captain was called for by Washington to scuttle all the botes & Vessels in a river near where we lay. According we took axes and performed sd. duty except one which was sunk.

Notwithstanding they drove us all to the town of Trenton in great haste and there I got sick with a fever and in a house lay on the floor were all the company was and after that I got into the garret, where I lay until two men by order of general Putnam took me down to a sloop that was taking in sick and put me in the hole which was full, and one Died that lay by me and was burried.

Scores of us were sent to Philadelphia & six men of Lynn was put into a house that a tory had left and three

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of sd. men died in that city, Ralph Lindsey, David Newman and Ephraim Twist. But myself, Stephen Coats and Chas. Florence was raised up again, although myself was so low the Doctor gave me a dose to kill or help me in two hours I was informed after I got to walk the room. I heard an officer say that twenty-five from the general ospittle was burried in a Day.

While I was in Phila. Washington took near a thousand of germans holding Christmas eve at Trenton. But respecting my sickness twas in November and December and my Lodging a hard floor and long nights & no Nurse at first and nothing more than the continental allowance for We went so sudden to that city small preparation was made for sick. But providential two women called at the door and found us in poor condition that they went home and sent us sugar & tea and a long narrer bed to rest our heads and shoulders on. My being sick a long time and no clothes to shift for we found our Clothes that year ourselves I got very lowsy and flesh much gone. But soon after my time was out which ended Decr. 31, 1776, myself, Charles Florence and Stephen Coats left me, so all was parted. But in a short time I moved on as strength was given me and passing a house a woman spoke to me to help Lay out a soldier that had died there. But I passed along not being acquainted with such things, & Begd on my way home people generally was very kind But some was afraid of me. The people was willing to let me lay by the fire or on wheat straw; on my way I would have gone into a house but they refused my going in But brought me to the Barn some broth thicknd with cabbage. One day I got lost in the jerseys the road being poor and wandering about

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I at last came to a house and opened the door without knocking and there lay a woman sick with the small pox. They earnestly requested me to go on and soon found the road the red flag flying. My not having that disorder I was careful what I eat for 14 days. But altho many died on their way home I by the providence of god was preserved and when I got so near home as Chelsea there came a rain from south east and as I had no hat but an old military cap the rain run down my body and I was very sore by reason of Lice. I stopd at Decon Sargent's Barn and formed me a collar of dry seaweed & put it round my neck to keep me more comfortable. Altho I frightened horses that I met that evening after twenty-seven days got home and my friends put my old clothes in a swamp at Wood end & I got through many trying scenes that year 1776.

Notwithstanding my sufferings was so great and at times at home very hard I by my captain and others was persuaded to enlist again Which I did on the 10th of March, 1777, which was for three years and soon went to Sewell's point not far from Boston. I had small pox by inoculation & paid the cost rather than to go to camp and have it there free from Expence. Soon after I got well set off as a waiter to Major Newhall who had been my captain in 1776. When I got to Worcester the Lieut. Col was arrested for making paper money as I was informed and Major Newhall took his place & Capt. Allen was appointed major. By accident Major Allen got killed at Northampton While at home on furlough as I was informed by hunting, with his neighbors. I left Worcester and went to the Northward and there found the regt having the small pox by inoculation and

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one John Hunt a Lynn man died by it although sd Hunt had been a nurse before. Soon after that the regt went on to Albany—half moon so called—and to Stillwater and fort Edward & fort Milton so called and there we found some men who had fled from Ticonderoga. They brought word that the British Army was coming and it soon prov true and they soon appeared and soon genl. Gates and all of us had to flee and the Inhabitants also. The British had with them many wild savage Indins who killed a Number of our men they keep in there front and Did us great damage.

While we lay near West Point general Wain took Stoney point in the Night on surprise and found some of the American deserters and without Judge or Jury hung them up on trees as we were informed. A small part of our regt was there. A man of ours was walking with an Ax on his shoulder and fell and cut a cord in his Neck & Bled to Death. I was with him one night.

While at the Northward in 1777 Near fort Edward my colonels horse was put out between our lines and there lines and I was ordered to git him to camp and on my way to the field he had got out, had I gone to the field I might have lost my life for their Indins killed a Number on guard near sd field.

Soon after that our army had to retreat for that Army Drove not only us But the Inhabitants who left horses cows hogs Poltry & c. and our officers gave us liberty to take what we could keep. The Colonels mess had a good cow for some days and then Indans came on us and killed some men of ours and had to retreat again. While we had the Cow we made her fast at night to the tail of our Waggon she fell on the Way and got spoilt

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& lost sd cow. Some one killed a hog which I see and sd hog I judged would have weighed 300 But lay spoiling I also saw 13 quarters of beef spoilt By the heat and carelessness.

While in the service I waited on Col Newhall rising two year then did duty as privet as corporl & Orderly Sargent and last of Duty as steward of a Company. The colonl offered me warrant as sargent if I would reinlist during the war But refusd.

Lieutenant Corey of our Brigade while on his way as a Deserter to the Enemy got stopt by our men and Brought Back and put under guard but what became of him I dont remember, and a brother of his an Ensign, a free Mason, he conducted so bad that he was disowned by the Lodge as we were informd. After fort Stanox was taken by the Americans three hundred of Indins that had been fighting against us come and joyned our general Gates. Myself alone Being out of camp in the Country came across them. I had my fears of being killed or taken not knowing anytling of it, But when I spoke to them in there language I soon found them friendly. My fears then left me and after they got to our camp there was great sculping on the side of the British and ours. I was at the house where Jemmy McCrea Livd and Saw at home an old Lady. Twas near fort Edward were our army lay But she and the old Lady past through our lines to go to the British and on there way Burgoynes Indins killd her and not hurt the old lady as we were informed and sculpt Jemmy and killed one of our Lieuts and some soldiers. The soldiers were burried in the woods and our folks got her body and the Officer and brought into camp and both Burried accord-

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ing to the honors of war. Myself and many hundred attended the funeral and a solemn time it was.

There Indins killd some of our solders When on Sentry and killd some of our bakers while making bread. They fired into camp and we had to retreat again and Retreated to Saratoga and after more force came in we made a Stand. But the Indins on both sides Dayly was sculping. I saw many sculps they brought in on our side for the Indins would call at Col Morgans for rum and I by the Cols orders would deal it out to them for their Bounty was Rum.

Burgoynes Indins killed a woman and five children But there father got out of his Window and made his escape. He died since as I read in the Newspapers rising a hundred and the case of his family was mentioned in the newspaper.

We had in a house up chamber a Small guard. An Indin of theres got within gunshot and fird into the Window it being open and killed one of the guard But before he got far the guard fired and killd him. His body was given to our Indins and they took of his sculp and Drest it with the hair still on and hung it up on a pole in general Larneds Brigade, on a pole about 20 feet for a flag But would strike the flag at Night this they Did for Days.

An Indin of Ours Drew provision with us in the Morning But was so unfaithful was caught Before night in firing against us on the British side. There Indins killd Col Alden of our Brigade at Cherry Valley so called and a number of his guard that was with him and earred of his major as we were informed. The Indins killd Col Nixons horse When on sd horse sd Nixon was also of our Brigade.

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Our Indins took a man alive and While passing me they were Stabing the poor man in the face Which caused me to feel for him But had to say Nothing, But I see the blood running But what became of him I cannot tell. Our Indians brought in two men at another time and gave out Word that they would Burn them to Death. I got up in the Night with others to see the sight. We placed ourselves so as the Indins could not see us But saw a great fire and the prisoners But the general caused them to be taken from them altho they suffered much. Those Indins killed an officer while at a spring and Shot a solder through his neck, him I see but I think he dyed Aaron Nurse of Lynnfield was one of the three, sd Aaron made his escape by giting into a large hollow Log the sd Indins went over the Log as I hear him say.

Another time the Indans killd a number of men one morning so that We had to flee. While at the North a man had by the Indans a Ball lodgd in his pack but hurt not the man. Another time the Indans shot a solders great toe off Which caused him to make a great Aden But the solders black garded him for such a trifle. The Indins proved the worst of men.

One time while our Army was on the move myself with about six others were passing a house. The man stood on the step of his door who Spoke to us saying the men Ahead had carried off all his pigs. On that we told him we saw the sow and part of pigs go behind his house, on that he left the door and very soon we heard guns & some of the men went to see What happnd & soon found the man shot through and Being on the Bank of a small River We took the man and family down stream But he Dyed next morning. He said torys shot him, he was an inhabitant.

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But after great Destruction by the Indans the British general and genl Gates agreed to put a stop to all sculping for great havock was made on both sides that both armys grew more less. Another time our folks thought fit to give the Enemy a few shot and myself was looking on. They returned the fire and took one of our mens head off and then both stopt firing, the mans brains I saw. While there four of us were ordered to go Back towards there lines to get grass for our horses with knives, in a place that was Dangerous & While there a part of us placd ourselves on stumps of trees while the others were cuting, But succeeded to get Back safe.

Respecting being lowsey Colo. Newhall observed one time it was Difficult for him to keep clear of them for they likt clean clothes. Six of our regt lived together called the Lowsey Mess. One day there tent took fire and it was Judgd the aforesaid lost there Lives at that time. I heard of an officer dining with genl Washington. While siting at the generals table a Lous appeared on one of sd officers ruffels, on that the officer put it back in his bosom with orders not to leave head quarters again. One Night in winter time lodging was so poor that in the morning was all snow by reason of a Driving snow storm.

A singular case took place by a man by the name of Barker. He was a tory and left his family with his neighbors and went to New York. Not long after the Enemy Drove us from a town calld Coldbrook and Barker came home and was Determined to have revenge on one of his Neighbors. This Neighbor got some notice of it and he and his wife fled about half a mile to a poor place by reason of Poverty. He and his wife while lay-

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ing by the fire Barker with a gang surrounded sd house and swore he would have the husbands heart blood, on that the man took to the Chamber for fear But Barker followed him and killed him dead, and after the Enemy & Barker returned to York. I thought I would go and see where he was killed and got from the man of the house the Information what distress they saw. Respecting soldiers too generally they Would for choice reather go to Battle than to here preaching, and but few religious men in camp. Some would lye, some would steal, git drunk, break open around, steal money from a man's desk and fether bed. And as to women would live with a man as Long as Both could agree and then would soon find another mate.

Respecting battles at the North the first was fought on the 19th of Sept. 1777 and a bloody time it was and our regt broke their ranks and went to Plundering the Dead, and after it was over our head Colnl Rufus Putnam who was of Brookfield gave strict orders that in case of another battle he would take the life of anyone of his regt if he found them to do the like again. A great number of our wounded lay by fires on the cold ground all night. Reuben Dunnell, a Lynn man, I saw the next morning wounded with a Large Number but never saw him afterwards. I saw a young man who was shot through both nose and eyes, he was then alive. The enemy took a captain of ours who was mortaly wounded and put him in a barn between the Lines. We could hear him cry bitterly but what became of him I never knew. Twas thought the enemy ment to take our men, Whoever came to take the Captain away.

The 2d battle was on the 7th. Oct. same year and

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Many lost their Lives there and I heard an officer say his Company left 17 men in one of these Battles. Our folks took some heavy cannon from them and the Enemy retook them again and our men took them Back and I found in the mouth of one of them Live powder about one pound and took it to my Quarters — it seems the Last Cartridge got broke. But after the Battle We put there Army to flight and entering there works there stood a german on his post as a sentnal. Our Adgt called on one of his men to shute him down. Accordingly the poor man lost his life and the officers reprimanded him for such conduct. But sd Adgt made light of it. Then We as a flying camp pressed them and they being in great haste Left behind there sick in there hospitals to our mercy and some of them I saw and we followed hard after them and took a Capt. and fifty men, a baggage guard and in that plunder we took Burgoynes Marquee and I with the officers Livd in it for some time. I got for myself a great coat Which did me much good of the plunder. The road being poor their horses failed and Died on the road and they left on sd road a Waggon of small arm eartridges and Wheels of a cannon, the cannon was found afterwards as I understand and when they had got to a Village they set it on fire and we found it burning.

And they got across Scylers Mills creek and got on a hill which proved their last stand, and while they lay on sd hill our general reinforced from many quarters and almost surrounded them, and there being high mountains round them We threw our shot into there camp, so that there general requested a cessation of arms for three days and it was granted. We sent in three flags

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of truce so called. But yet they would not give up, the mean while we heard that Genl Clinton at New York Dispatched a Large Body of men that was coming up the North river to place us between two fires. On that our general got determined to put them all to the sword. On one morning our army was ordered to go on and our Brigade marched to the fore mentioned creek. Before we entered the water my coln Dismounted his horse and ordered me on the bank to take care of his horse untill further orders. Then our folks entered the water and while crossing sd creek the enemy on their hill kept firing and they only wounded two of our folks for they overshot our people and the Balls flew by me in such a manner While I stood on the bank every minute expected to be killd. While standing there an officer ordered me with the horse from that spot. But before I left a Doctor of theres, a deserter calld on me to know where headquarters of ours were. I soon on that showed him and he left me. But the orders of taking them was countermanded and the Brigade crossed back. Both my colonels observed that one Ball likt to struck his leg in the water.

By some means we lost Sargent Colson by Being taken that time But got him back after they Surrendered. To say something of there giving up, Burgoyne agreed to lay down his arms in good order but provd otherwise. But when they came out it was to us a splendid sight. First Burgoyne and his generals, Next graneders, Light Infinty, Artillery, common battelons and last of all the germians and a glad day for them for they was pleased But the British seemed quite cross. But Birgoyne and his generals Dind together with genl gates on a small

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hill, there being awning taken from vessels placed some like a marquee.

In the afternoon same day our army marched with them sd afternoon and all that night down towards Albany. Then by lot general Glover of Marblehead with his Brigade guarded that army Down to Cambridge and soon our regt went to Albany for winter quarters and in that city was three hundred prisoners of war taken before there army gave up. In the city great Mischief was done. One circumstance was one Capt. Twogood commanded the Main guard and it being a Very Cold Day he found one solder to have his Mittens on. On that he ordered them off of one Thomas Taylor and he not willing to obey sd captain began to ratin him. On that sd Taylor clubbed his peace and sunk the stock in the captains head and he fell. Sd. Capt. was carried out of the city I think he died, and the solder was confined and by the Court Marshall sented to receive five hundred Lashes one hundred a morning till it was through. I saw Tailor after that and he appeared on the Decline But finaly got better and run away and left them. Another solder of our regt Shot a Black woman in such a manner that her life was in Despair But think she lived. A Black girl stole her Masters Briches for one of those three hundred prisoners above mentioned, a white man, and her Master causd her to be whipt at the Public whipping Post and I see the stripes Laid on.

Towards spring of 1778 we left Albany and Went more toward New York on the North River. One time myself and five others with a Corpral had the care of a blacksmiths traveling forge on wheels, taken from the British at Saratoga and we could get no provisions for Near a

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week, the mean time I was almost starvd tho I got a meal out of a barrel of hogs swill of one of the inhabitants. At length sd corporal got a Due Bill and sould it for money unbenown to us and got a furlough home to old Derry and never saw him afterwards.

One of our men was killd by Lightning and about twenty wounded Near West point. After that we moved more towards New York to a town calld Coldbrook. While there some British light horse came to us, the men I saw & also the horses. But soon the enemy drove us from there and killd Barretts cows and Destroyed his fether beds Where we had lived as I was informed.

One morning our folks took an old man prisoner who was once a Lord in England and gave him some breakfast. One of there Barges in the Night Near a town called Sing Sing was Landing were we had a guard unbenown to them, the guard took part of them that had landed but the Barge got away, part of them I saw. On one of our movements Mrs. Brunson who had a husband and children in camp with us Was on a march there came a heavy rain and this family got into a Very leaky Barn and in the Night was taken ill and sent for our Doctor. According he went and in the Barn another child was Born. But what was singular she sent to the Cohul for a glass of Rum for a Morning Dram Which I deliverd. The Doctor observd she had suffered much. One time I was at a house and saw a man with an uncommon Beard. In asking why he wore so long a Beard his answer was Because the solders had stole his razor and seemed much put out. A man of ours for breaking the Marshall law had to ride a sharp rail and two men carrying him one at each end of sd rail and two men

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carrying him one at each side of sd rail and many other ways Disobedient men was punishd. The poor fellow rode very uneasy. A waiter one time that livd in the tent with me Went out into the Bushes and found a dead British solder and took off his red coat and Brought it to Camp and Wore sd coat when in camp. A man of ours while going to cut timber having on his sholder an ax fell and cut the cord of his Neck. I myself with others set with him in the Night But the poor man Bled to Death. In our company was four Negros Namd Jephtha Ward, Job Upton, Duglass Middleton and Pomp Simmons and part of them calld on me after there time was out they had been good solders.

The Adjutant of our Regt. one time on our march jumpt over into a mans garden to steal fruits & c. the men followed him like Sheap, the Colonel found it out and put sd officer under an Arrest and not Blamd the men that followed him. One time the sd Adjutant was flogging a solder in such a manner my fears was he would kill the man, on that I Begd heartily for him and by that means the officer forbair flogging him. My living in the same mess with the officer think it had some good effect. To accomodate us they would have one man to Preach in English they themselves was Duch tho not constant and when a note was to be read the Decon with a small pole with a spear on one end would hand it up to the minister. And when a collection was made would reach a file with a silk small bag on one end from Seat to seat and at a Funeral would ring a bell. A curious house I saw there with winding stairs which a man might safely go up But very great Difficulty could get Down. These I tryd.

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In the city a german officer was Burried and at the grave the minister while performing the service had in his hand a very little spade and while praying or reading he kept the gravel going slowly on the coffin, the like I never saw before. While in Albany the major tould the colonel he ment to kill a deer altho the colonel doubted it. One morning about Sunrise the major called to me to go to the door and Bring in from the horse one. Though I doubted it I went and found one and we had Venison. While in that city two Indian chiefs Lodgd where we livd over Night Bound to headquarters, they appeared very friendly. While in that city I made some shoes with two British prisoners, they thretened to fight me again after they got exchanged but observed to them I hoped war would soon end. I saw in Albany a black man and woman fighting, the man with an ax the woman with a broom and we had some trouble to part them & also saw two women fighting and they fit like hearty fellows.

One time in returning from the country I fell in with five young women Bound to camp. She that led of was riding a horse as men ride But still kept her sitting & 4 following after, but soon left them and saw part of them next day in our Brigade.

The Enemy one time sent a Sloop up the North River a flag and we put on Board three men to see that good order was there. They waid ancor and carried the men to York and our general demanded them again.

Jacob Davis, who once lived in Lynn, lost his life while standing by the Armours vice. In the vice was a gun the armour was filling and being loded She took fire and shot him through the body. I was with him all

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night before he died, he stated he had been shot through before at Bunker Hill in 1775. Ebenezer Williams that once lived at Woodend with Joshua Collins was under the sentence of death for Deserting and Never saw them since. One time while in the country I put up at a house over Night and the man of the house was sick, about mid Night I was calld on to go in a heavy snow storm for a mid wife for his wife, according I went about half a mile & got the Womanhelp, they thankd me and gave me lodging supper and breakfast and then was informed that a child was born.

By general Washington's order I was with a party of 200 men in Building a Bridge. The head officers was Colol Carlton and Colol Newhall of Lynn and some of the party was whipt for stealing and after that the party was ordered to fire there volleys of powder on the 17th of Oct. 1778, it being the Day of the month the Northern army gave up, and while Adjnt Tucker of Gloucester was giving the word to fire one of the fellows twas thought that had been whipt tho not known, fird a ball and insted of killing Tucker the Dog was killed that stood by him. It was judgd he ment Tucker for sd Tucker was the man to see the stripes laid on.

While in camp my Pocket Book was stole and papers and my hard money about \$1.50 which I set much by and never got it again, it seamd the soldiers thought But little of a Future state altho much exposd.

While in camp I was directed to go to Eest point before general Washington and git of him an order to Draw some money at the office there, accordingly I went and got the order and money. An other time and others was ordered to go and take a stack of wheat from an inhabi-

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tant for our horses. The man was angry and threatened to have us before a justice observing his family was in want of it, altho it hurt my feelings We had to take it.

One time my self and hundreds left our tents as a flying camp before the Northern army Was taken and had to lay five Nights successively on the ground in the month of October. But had a large tree standing over our heads. We have had several times to march all Night. Another time the Enemy threw a Cannon Ball and took a mans head off; the Body our folks took away But the brains was left on the spot, myself and two others took into our hands sd Brains to have that sayd. Another time I saw a man hung for a crime in the fore part of the Day and he hung untill Near Sun set in order twas said to strike a Dread to Bad men. Another time I went to see a Number of poor men in prison and some confind to the flore condmd to Die, they appeard as sollem as the grave. I think they was reading the Bible & other good books, it was to me a sollem sean.

While I have Been Traviling I have left Blood on the snow by reason of poor Shoes and stockings.

I saw twenty four germans and one British officer all Dead laying in a spot that our folks took off the Battle ground at Saratoga. The wounded we took of theres was sent by our general out to the Country and a British Doctor was permitted to pass through our Camp to those wounded men, him I saw on a horse Blind folded a man leading the horse.

Another time the Enemy from their Vessels Landed near Things ferry on the jersey side Where hundreds of us lay. We all formed a line for a Battle But standing there for them to advance some time there Came a Very

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heavy shower of Rain and put it Back. The Damage they Did was Burning some Building and carried off a quantity of Shad and took to there vessels.

Colonel Newhall of Lynn and a Colol from Salem by order of general Washington with two hundred of us Built a Bridge across a river in Connecticut. The Salem Colol Lost his fether bed by the British at the Northward and in order to spite them as I heard him say he Never would sleep again in a fether bed while in the Army But Slept in a Bunk and Colol Newhall slept in a Live fether Bed in the same room that I often made, he was a singular man. While we lay in Albany I have seen some of the British White men Who was taken prisoners before there Army gave up Bound out of the city in a Double Slay load with all Black girls as a party of pleasure. One time at the Northward our men took a Bear from the Enemy altho the Bear was not willing to yield.

Another time I saw a young man hung where hundreds had to be present and among the rest a Brother of his had to be their Which to me Seemed hard and altho Wicked as the men Were I found a great many was effected. Another circumstance was two of the Serjents of our Regt was caught in Dressing a calf that they stole from an inhabitant, they Both were confind under guard and tryd by a court Marshall and sentenced and each of them reed. fifty stripes and placd in the ranks to remain soldiers.

I have seen pretty young men Whipt a Number of times for Breaking the Marshall law they being ignorant of its strickness and being out for a Short time in Camp and Set on by the old Continentals. Two men stole a sheep, before they got her skin off they had to carry sd

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Sheep through the camp made fast to a long pole, the Drums Beating the rogues March and scores of men looking on.

A soldier of our Regt By the name of Joplin met in the Street in Albany two British Sargents and the sd joplin being a nasty small hump Back fellow, these British Sargents look very Neat and Clean & to take him off Calld on joplin to know how many regulars he had killd, his answer to them was many Better looking fellows than they, on that they left him, he was counted a good soldier. A man Who had Just shavd an officer went on guard and soon was killd by Indins. In traveling I went to a house with soar feet and Stopt a Day or two and made the woman of the house a pair of shoes & made welcome. A man at West point got Bit by a rattlesnake Which put him in great Distress But cannot tell whether he livd. Respecting Religion It was at a Very low Ebb in our Land and also in camp much Lower. In the years service a religious man offerd to pray Dayly in our company and accordingly Did for a short time But was put by officers and soldiers not willing to Attend. But in the three years service one Mr Smith acted a chaplain for our Brigade and a good Preacher. One sermon was from St. Luke, 3 chap 14 verse, that soldiers do violence to no man Nor accuse any falsely But be Content with there Wages, altho he held to the idea of Wages being made Better many was angry at what he said on that point. I took with me a Bible in the three years service But by some means it got over board in the North river altho it was in the colonels Chest and this gave joy to some soldiers But I got it again.

Colonel Carn mentioned before Was a very profain

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Laim old man Near 60 years. His feet that he first had he stated he turned into the continentle store and made a Bad Bargain by giting them. He had them and was determined not to change them more, But make them last. I livd in a house with him, he had one Nathaniel Needham his waiter, But a near sighted man, faithful tho slow. The old man often calld on me to Wait on him. One time he ordered me to git his horse and go and git a quantity of Eggs into the country and reather than to fail to go to heavens gates and tell st Peter it was his orders that he send him some. I set off and calld at many houses and got some and returned and brought home to the old man, it was Late in the Season But I returned that Day.

While at the Northward among many that was there We saw a soldier who twas thought to be a Woman by the Speach and looks But I never knew what the soldier was. One time I called at a house to git supper, the family had hastipuden we call it. But in some places I have been they calls it mush, others supon. I was asked which I choose sweet milk or sower. I answered sweet and among the family one woman for choice chose hogs fat this I saw and she ate it with a relish.

Another time I saw in a house a child in the cradle its eyes filld with snuff in great Distress. While in the army I have been a number of times out into the country for officers Who furnish me with a horse for cartin things and had an opportunity to see the Ways and manners of the people.

One time it happened our officers Was gone, some on Duty and some on furlow. An inspection of the company and regt was to be made and I was Directed to

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make out the rool. Accordingly I stated that such of the officers as Were absent, where they was and as to the men on guard, Some on furlows, some sick & c. and made out our number and placd myself on the right of the company and handed to the inspector sd return an it readly past tho I was only a soldier, But acted as orderly sergeant.

I have lain all Night in the Low Bushes and made a Booth of them over my head by Drawing them together to keep off the Dampness of the Night, where many rattle Snakes livd and not got bit.

A head Colol and his Lieut. Colol was Confederate in sending home to there familys a Continental Waggin load of provisions in the time of great want in camp and other places. They Both got Arrested and the head Colol being an Arch fellow got clear, the other broke and sent home. Not long after the Lt. Colol came to camp and those both got into a dispute and the Colol had him that was sent home put under guard which was thought was much Mortifying to him that was Broke. One of our Captains a Drinking man, at a grog shop wounded a soldier in Such a manner with his cut lash, was Broke and sent home to Salem, Massachusetts.

One time a Soldier made fast to the tail of a Waggon he being Detirmined not to go to camp But the poor fellow had to follow on. One time a soldier went to sleep in his Blanket and a ratle snake took a place with him & the Soldier killd sd snake before they awoke the man.

Another soldier got asleep below high water mark and while there the Tide came and awoke him. That was in Trenton. One time while sailing up the North river

Olden Fortune 16th Dec - 1779

This certifies that Henry Hollowell of the 5th Magazine
settled ~~Regt~~ this day exchanged with Grenier's Regiment
of said Regt. Col. said I put it to serve from the 17th day
of January 1780 to the 1st of March following; and Henry
Hollowell to be discharged the service on said 1st day

of January, unless he re-enlists during the War
Your New York to Colo

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we Lost a soldier over Board in the Night, no Doubt drowned.

The time general Sullivan went back to the Indian settlements with a large Body of men they Destroyed all & drove them back Except an aged Indian, with him they left beef and flower to live on thinking he Could Do no hurt as they Brought Word.

One time in traveling in the Country I put up at Night not knowing that they were Torys and in the morning offerd them my paper Money, But reather than take it I was made Welcome for they then observed that they had nothing to do with such as that. Another time a Soldier caught a Live snake and put it in anothers Bosom, the Snake run round his Back in such a manner that it put the soldier almost Distracted. Capt Shays who rose against our state government Belong to our Regt and a good officer counted.

On the first Day of January 1780 in the morning about Day, being entering on the last year with the three year men they agreed to turn out to fire three volleys on the occasion and for that conduct my Colol had some of them Whipt by tying them up to Trees, altho many in the same Brigade did the like, But there officers being more human took no Notice of it and the fears in our Regt was that there would be a meeting But it past off. I have been ordered to load my peace Scores of times for guarding and for Battle but Never fired on the enemy which seems remarkable. My gun I allowed 13 dollars for out of my Bounty was withheld by the officers and nothing allowed me for it when discharged.

Previous to the British Army being taken they come with such power and we had to retreat. The inhabi-

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taunts was put in great Distress & fled before us leaving there all Except a few things behind. We had liberty to take Horses, cows hogs sheap and all sorts of poltry &c. and anything out of there houses that we could keep. One man left behind a Hogshed of Mollasses and the men took all that into camp kittles & other things, myself got out of a house some shoemaker tools. I lost my Dayley Jornal on the retreat & Never got it. This was at the Northward.

I saw a Large number of Torys that was taken at Bennington Battle under the care of a Large guard. While standing by them, when halted, a Woman stood by and Chargd one of them saying he was the scoundrel that killd her husband But had no answer from him, she appeard Very Angreay.

In 1777 our Regt. quartered in Albany that winter. In 1778 the Regt. Lay in tents all winter at a Place calld Soldiers fortune, Named by my Colol who saw a hard Winter there. In 1779 Lay at the same place in huts of our own Building so open that snow has covered me on a stormy night, But after all my suffering on the 17th of Jany 1780 got a Discharge by changing places with a man who was to serve up to the 10th of March following by the Colol consent. Thus ended the three last years service and got away from the war Which provid a sore calamity. Many other strange things I Could mention But finily forbear.

Supplement

Our Indians took two men which had Done some ingery to our Countrys Cause & brought them to camp alive, gave out word that they would Burn them on a Certain Night, myself and many others went about midnight to see the Dreadful sean. They built a large fire for that purpose, But after those men was brought & tormented by them near sd fire our general causd them to be taken away tho it was said they was almost Dead. They was so unfaithfull to our Camp that one of them Drew provisions in the morning with us & that same Day was taken fighting against us & Committed to the main Guard which Colol Newhall commanded at that time. A Dreadful havock they made But I forbair.

Some singular circumstances turned up; one Circumstance was by lightning which was singular. One flash Come & kill one man who had been home and just got back to camp while he was in his tent with others & the same flash wounded between twenty & thirty of our Brigade. We lay there Near west point after this We movd down the North river. Near King ferry in a town calld Colobarock While laying there some of the enemys light horse Came to us by Desarting which I saw them coming out. Our Colol major Adjent & Doctor quartered at Mr. Barretts myself & two others. While laying there the Enemy rushd on us in such a manner we with the regiment had to flee, Mr. Barrett having no protection under general Clinton at New York these

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Britans took his fether Beds and Distroyed them out at his door and killd his Cows Near a dozen. One Barker a tory who come with those men, killd one of his Near Neighbors in Coul Blood, altho the man cryd for quarter. This miscreant man liyed very Near Barker before said Barker went to New York. The British had often been up the river Near this town, one time sent up a barge to steal provisions but in landing we happened to have a guard close by, before the Guard fired on them one man had Got on shore & hid himself in a fox Burrow which we took after he Lay there all that Night. It was thought our Guard killd near all in sd Barge but she got away.

Not far from this time General Wain of ours beseged Stony point fort in the Night, part of our regt was with him. We took them upon Surprise being in the Night they had but little time to fight the general took many of them not dressd he also took some who had Desertd from us and hung them up on trees without judge or jury as I was in formd.

Capt. Shays who rose against our state government Belong in our regt in the three years service and respected as a very good officer, was very good to his men. Lieut Cory of sd regt was going to Desert to the Northern Army But was Detected & put under Guard. Ensign Cory, a brother of his belong to the Lodge of Masons he got very Drunk at one of there meetings & Distroyd much glass Wair at the Inn & was turnd out of the Lodge as we were informd.

One time myself and two others was passing in a field & saw a shell Coming in the air straight for us the two who were with me Dropt themselves in a Ditch & I run

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out sideways the shell Broak in the air & we got part of it which fell about were we was walking. It was calld a 13 Inch shell. At another time I was ordered to go to a field & Bring out the Colols horse before I had got to sd field I found sd horse in the bushes, had I a gone to the field no Doubt the Indins would have had me for they killd five men on Centry near sd field. Our folks took a field peice to Drive the Indians Back & they shot Colol Nixon's horse through his head.

At these times cows was free for us the Inhabitants being gone. We had a very Nice Cow for some Days would tye over Night at the Colols Waggon, one morn-ing the enemy ralied on us & killd a number of our men & put our camp very suddenly to flight, so sudden that the Waggon was got under way before the Cow was cast off, it being a very Narrow road many Waggons was following ours. The Cow fell on hur side & she was held in that manner a Considerable Distance before we could cut her away. At Night myself and one more went Back to find the cow & found her laying on the ground, like stupid mortals exposd our lives for such a trifel But it happened we met with no harm. At another time we Lay on a hill Drew our water at the foot of sd hill, the Colol observd to me not to go any more there for water as the Colol knew the enemy movements better than myself. I left Drawing Water there the Indians very soon after that time killd one of our officers near this sd spring & we soon left this hill. O how many ways I was exposd.

A number of times while Waiting on Colol Newhall he has gave me his pocket book & the effects and Charge of other things with a request to see that his children

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have if ever I should have an opportunity, he being more exposd at these times then myself.

One morning about Brake of Day Ezra Moulton Being as Centnal at Colol Newhalls door fell on his post to the ground which was Very uncommon. The Colol being a Very human man orderd me to git the man a Dram and he recovered from the ground and Drank the same Which seemed to him very agreeable.

One day While cooking I took out my pocket Book to git a neidle to mend my puden bag & just turnd my Back & lost it with my hard money & all my papers, the money I set by not knowing but I might be taken Prisoner. The Colol advisd me to Advertise and ofer a reward which I did to no purpose.

Part of these years I had a Watch which had no Cristle finely sould it to Colol Breed for he Delt in Watches.

On the first day of Jany 1776 I Joind the Army as a Soldier at Winter hill Near Boston, was Discharged in Philadelphia on the 31st December following. Did duty in the ranks that year and on the 10th of March 1777 I again inlisted for three year and Waited on Colo Newhall rising two year and after that was Steward to a Company untill my Discharge in 1780, Jany the 17th.

Winter quarters in 1777 was in Albany.

Winter quarters in 1778 was Near West point calld Soldiers fortune. Lay in tents all winter.

In 1779 quartered at Soldiers fortune again. Lived in huts of our own Building and discharged on the 17th of Jany 1780.

The three years Service I was of John Nixon's Brigade, Rufus Putnam's regt Capt. Williams Compy—the

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other three regts was Graton's, Thos. Nixons & Aldens and he was killed by Indians at Cherry Vally, so calld.

I sold 1780 Dollars in two notes of paper money to Benja. Johnson for 30 Dolls. in silver which I had for serving in the Revolution about the close of the War.

The names of those who obtained a pension under the act of 1831.

Harris Chadwell	Theop. Bacheller
Calley Newhall	John Willis
Josiah Rhodes	Saml. Mansfield
James Newhall	D. Watts
Timothy Newhall.	

The names of those of Lynn Who has and do draw a pension.

Fredk. Breed	Ebenzr Richardson
James Nourse	Ephrm Bailey
Isaac Organ	Lewis Bruce
William Tarbox	David Tufts
Amos Blanchard	Henry Hallowell

All of us begun under the act of 1818.

Biographical Sketches

ABORN, AARON,—private, son of Ebenezer and Mary (Goodale) Aborn, was born in Lynnfield, October 1, 1757; married in Danvers, December 31, 1779, by Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, to Phoebe Pope, of Danvers; died about 1788. Phoebe Pope married, second, Francis Sheldon, of Salem, September 20, 1788. Aaron Aborn's name appears on the muster-roll of Captain Nathaniel Bancroft's minute company which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, but he is credited with but twenty-four miles of travel, which would indicate that he did not reach the scene of the conflict, probably receiving the alarm too late. He enlisted May 11, 1775, in Captain Gideon Foster's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, and served two months and twenty-five days. He again enlisted in Captain John Baker's company in the same regiment, and served until January 1, 1776, performing duty during the siege of Boston. His service being for eight months, he was given a bounty coat at Winter Hill, October 27, 1775.

ABORN, EBENEZER,—private, son of Ebenezer, was baptized in Lynnfield, March 22, 1724; married Mary Goodale, of Danvers, November 9, 1752; died in Lynnfield, March 8, 1792. The wife, Mary, died December 9, 1773, aged forty-four, and he married, second, Catherine Jennessey (in Lynn records, Katherine Jemmeny), of Salem, December 18, 1777. He joined the Lynnfield church, of which he became warden in 1772, on the 20th of July, 1760, being then known as Ebenezer, Jr. His children were Ebenezer, Aaron, James, and Patty, of which Ebenezer and Aaron were in the war. He is buried in the old cemetery in Lynnfield Centre, and a marker and stone were placed at his grave in 1904. Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Gideon Foster's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment; enlisted July 22, 1775, and served to January 1, 1776; order for a bounty coat at Winter Hill, October 27, 1775; advance pay at Prospect Hill, Captain John Baker's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, August 10, 1775.

ABORN, EBENEZER, JR.,—private, son of Ebenezer and Mary Goodale, was born in Lynnfield, April 16, 1756; married Melitable Larrabee, born

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January 15, 1758, daughter of Ephraim Larrabee, of Danvers, January 3, 1784. The Lynnfield church records give the latter date as February 5, 1784. His children were Margaret, Elias, Fanny, Mehitable, and Ebenezer. At the death of his father, which occurred March 8, 1792, he inherited by will one-half of the homestead, which was situated on the old road which ran between the railroad and Pilling's Pond, then called "Stony Brook." He continued to live on this farm until December, 1806, when he sold it to Thomas Bancroft and moved to Salem, March 18, 1807. He purchased property of Samuel Taylor in Salem, and lived there until July, 1813, when he went to live with his daughter, Mehitable Aborn Batchelder, at London, N.H. In 1816 they moved back to Salem and lived on Mill Street until the spring of 1820, when they moved to a farm at Pickering's Point, nearly opposite the State Normal School. There he died, July 23, 1837, of apoplexy. He is buried in the old King Burial Ground, at South Peabody. His wife died before 1813.

His pension claim states that he enlisted December, 1775, for one year as a private in Captain Moses Whiting's company, Colonel Gration's regiment; also as private in Captain Silas Adams's company, Colonel Titcomb's regiment; service, two months, and 140 miles' travel allowed to and from place of rendezvous; credited to Danvers; roll dated June 29, 1777, and endorsed "2 mos. service at R.I."

His name also appears on a descriptive list of the officers and crew of the ship "Junius Brutus" of Salem, commanded by Captain John Leach, dated Salem, June 15, 1780; age, twenty-two years; stature 5 ft. 7 in.; complexion, dark.

He was pensioned at the rate of eight dollars per month under the act of 1818, and was then living in Salem.

ABORN, MOSES,—parentage not known, may have been the son of Moses, of Danvers, and Mary Tarbox, of Lynn, who were published March 7, 1752.

Revolutionary record: Report of men enlisted into the Continental Army from the 1st Essex County regiment, dated February 16, 1778; enlistment three years, or during the war; joined Captain Bancroft's company, Colonel Michael Jackson's regiment; Continental Army pay accounts for service from May 14, 1777, to August 17, 1777; reported died August 17, 1777. —Mass. Archives.



THE HENFIELD HOUSE, LYNNFIELD

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ADAMS, BENJAMIN,—the drummer-boy of Captain Nathaniel Bancroft's Lynnfield company, was the son of Rev. Benjamin and Rebecca (Nichols) Adams, and was born in Lynnfield, September 7, 1758. His father was born in Newbury, Mass., May 8, 1719, graduated at Harvard College in 1728, and was ordained pastor of the Second Parish Church in Lynnfield, November 5, 1755. Rev. Benjamin was the son of Captain Abraham, who was the son of Sergeant Abraham, who was the son of Robert

Benjamin Adams

and Anne (Longfellow). Benjamin, the drummer-boy of Captain Bancroft's company, was the second child of Rev. Benjamin, and was only sixteen years of age when the alarm reached Lynnfield on the morning of April 19, 1775. Living a short distance from the Ezekiel Gowing Tavern, from whence the company marched, he was early on the spot after the exciting news reached the village, and it is said that he beat the long roll so vigorously that it could be heard a mile, and greatly aided in bringing in the members of the little company. It is not known how the father regarded the action of his patriotic son, but tradition has suggested that Parson Adams was not over-friendly to the cause of the provincials. It is a significant fact that, while Parson Treadwell and Parson Roby were conspicuous throughout the Revolution, no record has connected Parson Adams's name with the patriot cause. The drummer-boy, however, beat the step for his comrades on the way to the skirmish and returned home with them that night. He lived in after-years in the old Henfield, or Adams, house, on the road from Lynnfield Centre to Wakefield. His half-brother, Jonathan, born February 12, 1749, was a soldier from Newbury. Benjamin's mother died on the 22d of August, 1776, and his father died suddenly in the pulpit on the 4th of May, 1777. Their graves may still be seen in the old cemetery at the Centre village.

Benjamin was married March 9, 1788, by Rev. Joseph Mottey, of Salem, to Lois Orne, and had children, Edward Augustus, Lois Orne, Delia Augusta, and Benjamin Perkins, all of whom died young. He began the practice of medicine first at Amherst, N.H., and then returned to Lynnfield. He served the town of Lynnfield as clerk of the parish from 1793 to 1804 and as selectman from 1790 to 1804. Dr. Adams died in Lynnfield, January 16, 1811, and is buried in the old

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cemetery at Lynnfield Centre, where a slate stone marks his grave, as do others those of his children. No record of the death of his wife has been found.

ADAMS, JOSEPH, —parentage unknown, may have been the son of Captain Nathan and Mary (Trumbull) Adams, born in Charlestown, October 2, 1762.

Revolutionary record: Appears on a descriptive list of men in 1780; age, eighteen; dark complexion; dark hair; dark eyes. Appears on a return of men raised agreeable to resolve of December 2, 1780; enlisted July 21, 1781.

ALLEN, LEMUEL, —was a sergeant of the Saugus company. No record has been found of his birth or parents. He was, however, born prior to 1755. Inasmuch as Allen was not a Lynn name, it is probable that he was born outside of Lynn and moved here before the Revolution. He owned and occupied a large farm northwest of the present Cliftondale

Lemuel Allen

station of the Saugus Branch Railroad, on Essex Street, known in late years as the George N. Miller place. The house was burned some years ago.

Lemuel Allen was first married, by Rev. Joseph Roby, to Mrs. Sarah Viall on November 29, 1771. He married, second, January 30, 1778, Mary, daughter of Rev. Joseph Roby. Mary Roby was born December 20, 1755. Their only daughter, Rachel, became the wife of Daniel Hawkes. Mr. Allen, who was called a tanner in 1785, was not prominent in town affairs, his only service being that of hog reeve in 1766 and 1769 and warden in 1781. Of his Revolutionary service, in addition to that of April 19, 1775, he was commissioned as lieutenant in Captain John Poole's 2d company, 1st Essex County regiment, April 26, 1776. It is doubtful whether he saw active service after the 19th of April, 1775.

His will was admitted to probate October 13, 1806, and he is buried in the old Saugus cemetery, where a marble gravestone and a bronze marker of the S. A. R. were erected at his grave in 1903.

ALLEY, ABNER, private, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Newhall) Alley, was born in Lynn, February 18, 1741. The Alley family, one which was early allied with the Quaker denomination, was also one of the earliest upon the town records, and the name is distinctly a Lynn name,

Lynn in the Revolution

even to-day. Abner Alley was a grandson of Hugh Alley, and great-grandson of Hugh Alley, the emigrant, who was born in England in 1608, and came to America in 1635 in the "Abigail," and died in Lynn, November 25, 1673. The emigrant, Hugh, was an extensive land-owner in Lynn and Nahant, and a part of his estate embraced the territory near the present Market Street, and remained in the family for at least two hundred years. Solomon Alley, great-uncle of Abner, was one of Captain Lothrop's company, the flower of Essex, and was killed in the fight at Bloody Brook, September 18, 1675.

Abner Alley was married May 25, 1762, by Rev. Nathaniel Hinchman, to Sarah Webber, who was probably the daughter of Richard and Sarah Webber. She was baptized in Marblehead, November 14, 1742.

Like that of many of his townsmen, the only service of Abner Alley in the Revolution was that of the 19th of April, 1775, when he went with his company to Menotomy. Although he was a cordwainer, he went to sea in 1778, and was probably lost in that year, as would appear from a certificate on file in the probate records at Salem. His estate was appraised by Colonel John Flagg and Ephraim Breed, who set off the widow's dower, according to the custom of the times. In this quaint document she was given "the two lower rooms in the dwelling house and half the cellar under said house, with the use of the oven in the south room for baking, and liberty to pass and repass through the front door and entry to and from the chambers and cellar, as occasion may require." She was married, however, on the 29th of November, 1784, to Jonathan Burt, of Wilmington. Nothing further is known of her.

Abner Alley was cousin to Ephraim, Nathan, and Joseph, who were also in the Revolution.

ALLEY, EPHRAIM,—son of Joseph and Rebecca (Hall) Alley, was born in 1754 and died May 2, 1821. He married, first, Mehitable Hallowell, July 23, 1778, and, the latter dying December 10, 1782, he married, second, Hepzibah Lewis, June 17, 1783. A child by the first wife was John, and by the second he had Benjamin, Lewis, Nathaniel, Mehitable, Hepzibah, and Lydia.

Ephraim Alley, brother of Nathan and Joseph, was a cordwainer, and lived and died in Lynn. He is probably buried in the old Western Burial Ground, together with at least Hepzibah and Lewis, whose graves are marked.

Lynn in the Revolution

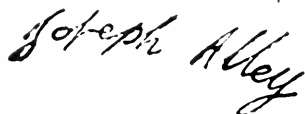
His name does not appear on the rolls of the companies which went out on the Lexington alarm, but the Massachusetts Archives give the following service:

List of men, who served as privates at Concord battle and elsewhere, belonging to Lynn, now called Lynn, Lynnfield, and Saugus; also matross, Captain Jonathan W. Edes's (4th) company, Colonel Thomas Craft's (artillery) regiment; enlisted May 20, 1776; discharged August 1, 1776; service, two months, sixteen days.

ALLEY, JAMES, - son of Solomon¹, Benjamin², Hugh², Hugh¹, who came to Lynn in 1635, was born in Lynn, May 14, 1745. He was a cordwainer, lived in Lynn on Market Street, and married Lois Breed, April 25, 1769. His children were Moses Breed, Rebecca, James, and Miriam. He died October 17, 1823.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Joseph Hiller's company, Colonel Jonathan Titecomb's regiment; enlisted May 5, 1777; discharged July 5, 1777; service, two months, six days, on an alarm at Rhode Island; roll dated Providence, Rhode Island, -Mass. Archives.

ALLEY, JOSEPH, - son of Joseph and Rebecca (Hall) Alley, was born in Lynn in 1757, and died in Lynn, February 10, 1832, aged seventy-five. He was brother of Nathan and Ephraim Alley and cousin of James and Abner.



He was of the fourth generation from Hugh Alley who came to Lynn in the ship "Abigail" in 1635. Both Joseph and his brother Nathan were soldiers

of the Revolution. They died within three days of each other, Joseph's death occurring on the 10th and Nathan's on the 7th of February, 1832. Both are buried in the old Eastern Ground.

Joseph Alley was married by Rev. John Treadwell, December 13, 1781, to Hannah Batchelder, born September 17, 1759, daughter of Henry and Jerusha (Breed) Batchelder. Their children were Sally, Hepzibah, Joseph, Henry, George, and Hannah. He was a stable-keeper and lived on Market Street, between Liberty and Essex.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Ezra Newhall's company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, service seventeen days; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also muster-

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roll dated August 1, 1775, enlisted May 3, 1775, service three months, five days; also company return dated October 6, 1775; also order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Winter Hill, November 4, 1775; also matross, Captain John W. Edes's (4th) company, Colonel Thomas Craft's (artillery) regiment; enlisted May 20, 1776; roll made up November 1, 1776.

Sailor, brigantine "Rover," commanded by Captain Adams Wellman; descriptive list of officers and crew dated June 30, 1780; age, twenty-two years; stature, 5 ft. 6 in.; complexion, dark; residence, Lynn.—Mass. Archives.

ALLEY, NATHAN,—son of Joseph and Rebecca (Hall) Alley, was born February 29, 1752. He was brother of Joseph and Ephraim Alley, cousin of James and Abner, and descended from the emigrant ancestor, Hugh. He married Mary Alley, December 1, 1777, and lived on the easterly side of Estes Lane, now Union Street. The house, which was torn down many years ago, was situated between Exchange and Union Streets, on a hillside which has since been cleared away. His land extended to and embraced the site of at least a portion of the present property of the Boston & Maine Railroad. Although he was born on Market Street, the greater part of his life was spent at the above place, and it was with the greatest indignation that he heard of the projected railroad. He is said to have shaken his fist and to have declared that it should never go through his land, or, if it did, that he hoped that he should never see the day. It was not, indeed, until after his death that the land was taken for the new enterprise.

In his early life Mr. Alley was connected with the old First Church, but when the Methodist preacher, Jesse Lee, came to town, in 1791, he was one of the first to join the new church, and with his wife remained a member for the rest of his life.

A frequent visitor and intimate friend of Mary Alley, his wife, was Moll Pitcher, and Mrs. Alley related to her grandchildren many tales of the famous fortune-teller. She always claimed that General Washington came to Lynn to consult "Aunt Polly," as she called her, and even said that at one time a British officer also came and tried to gain some idea of Washington's intentions, and that the crafty old lady threw him off the trail. She said that Moll's son was often stationed in the attic with a heavy chain, which he rattled at intervals, thus producing

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an excellent effect upon those in the house seeking advice. A sister of Mary Alley lived on Hanover Street in Boston, and during the siege furnished the British soldiery with milk.

The children of Nathan and Mary Alley were Nathan, Joseph, Huldý, Jacob, William, Micajah, Jacob, Timothy, Mary, Solomon, and Peter. One daughter, Mary, married William Brown, who was a drummer in the War of 1812, and belonged to a Lynn company who styled themselves the "Black Ducks."

In personal appearance Nathan Alley was short, somewhat stout, with face smooth-shaven. In manner and dress he was rather old-fashioned. On the Friday evening on which he died, his son had accompanied him to Market Street to the home of his brother Joseph, who was seriously ill. The son went to church, but called for his father on his way home. Before Nathan reached home, however, he was stricken with apoplexy on Union Street. Although he was assisted into Mr. Johnson's shoe-shop and old Dr. John Lummus called to attend him, he died almost immediately. The date of his death was February 7, 1832, and that of his brother Joseph three days later. He was buried in the old Eastern Ground on Union Street, at the top of the hill, beside his wife who had died six years before.

The Lexington alarm rolls fail to show his name, but a record in the state archives gives the following: List of men, who served as privates at Concord battle and elsewhere, belonging to Lynn, Lynnfield, and Saugus; also matross, Captain Jonathan Edes's company, Colonel Thomas Craft's (artillery) regiment; abstract for advance pay dated July 23, 1776; also gunner, Captain Edes's (4th) company, Colonel Craft's regiment; enlisted May 20, 1776; roll made up November 1, 1776.

ATTWILL, NATHAN.—son of Nathan and Anna (Ramsdell) Attwill, was born in Lynn, October 16, 1744; married, by Rev. John Treadwell, to Mary

Stone, November 24, 1768. His children were Mary, Elizabeth, Anna, James, Nathan, and Charles. His will, which was dated May 15, 1804, was

proved October 10, 1804. He was a cordwainer, and brother to William, who was also a cordwainer and a Revolutionary soldier.

Revolutionary record: Sergeant, Captain Rufus Mansfield's com-





THE NATHAN ATTWILL HOUSE, WHITING
STREET, LYNN

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pany (4th), which marched on the alarm of the 19th of April, 1775; service, two days.—Mass. Archives.

ATTWILL, THOMAS HICKS,—son of William and Lydia (Hicks) Attwill, was baptized April 20, 1766; married, by Rev. Obadiah Parsons, January 22, 1788, to Joanna Mansfield, and lived at one time in the old Johnson house, which stood where the First Methodist Church now stands. They had one daughter, Joanna, who became the wife of Christopher Bubier and mother of Samuel M. and Edward T. Bubier. Samuel M. Bubier became mayor of Lynn. After the Revolution Thomas Hicks Attwill taught music and travelled through Vermont and New York. Although he was in Lynn as late as 1798, as would appear from the ledger of Dr. James Gardner, it is probable that his later years were not spent here, inasmuch as his relatives lost track of him. His wife, Joanna, died here, February 24, 1817, at the age of fifty-two years, and is buried in the old Western Burial Ground.

The Revolutionary rolls give the service of Thomas Hicks Attwill as fifer in Captain Addison Richardson's company, Colonel Wade's Essex County regiment, showing that he enlisted July 12, 1780, when he was but fourteen years of age. He was discharged October 10, 1780, making his service three months and eleven days.

ATTWILL, WILLIAM,—son of Nathan and Anna (Ramsdell) Attwill, was born in 1730; married Lydia Hicks, of Boston, to whom he was published April 22, 1753. His wife, who was daughter of Zachariah and Lydia (Dagget) Hicks, was born in Boston, October 31, 1732, and died January 8, 1812. Their home was in the old Attwill house, which stood upon the Common and which was moved to Whiting Street, where it still remains. Their children were Lydia, Zachariah, Anna, Mary, Hannah Hicks, Thomas Hicks, William, Salley, John Dagget, and Betsey. William Attwill, the father, died November 5, 1806.

Revolutionary record: Private in Captain Daniel Galencia's company, Colonel Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment, and in Captain Eleazer Lindsey's company of the same regiment; enlisted in the latter company May 20, 1775, service two months and thirteen days; also in Captain Brown and Devereux's companies, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards, at Cambridge, enlisted February 3, 1778, service five months, three days; on muster-roll for January, 1778, dated Camp at Winter Hill.—Mass. Archives.

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ATTWILL, ZACHARIAH, son of William and Lydia (Hicks) Attwill, was born October 9, 1755; married on the 16th of July, 1778, by Rev. John Treadwell, to Elizabeth Breed, who was born June 7, 1758, daughter of Amos and Ruth (Newhall) Breed. Their children were Zachariah, Amos, Mitcheson, Ruth, George, Betsey, Jesse Lee, Polly, Thomas Hicks, William Burres, and Lydia.

Zachariah Attwill

They lived "in a certain dwelling with barn and ten poles of land, situate in Lynn, nigh ye meeting-house, and lately enjoyed by Edward Howard, the land bounded in every part by ye town common." This land was deeded to Zachariah May 24, 1784, and he lived there until appointed keeper of the almshouse in the early part of the last century. The dwelling was the old house which now stands on Whiting Street, numbered 35. There is a tradition in the family that in the days when the king needed more fighting men, and was obliged to resort to impressment to increase his army, Nathan Attwill, the grandfather of Zachariah, was washing his hands in the brook which ran past the above-mentioned house on the Common, when the press-gang came along. In the fight which followed his arm was broken, but he was told that, being a strong man, they had rather have him with one good arm than many another man having two. He was taken away subsequently, and never returned. The tradition has come down through four generations of the family.

The almshouse which Zachariah kept was at the corner of Fayette and Chestnut Streets, where the East Lynn Odd Fellows' Building now stands. This he kept for a number of years until the almshouse on Tower Hill was opened, when he also continued for a time as keeper there. He died in Lynn, November 6, 1836, at the age of eighty-one years, in the home of Amos Attwill, a house which was torn down to make way for the St. Mary's parochial residence. He was buried on the south side of the old Western Burial Ground, where his grave is marked by a white stone bearing the inscription, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." His wife, who is also buried in the old Western Ground, died July 1, 1827.

The Revolutionary record of Zachariah Attwill is as follows: Private, Captain Rufus Mansfield's (4th) company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, service two days; private, Captain Joseph

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Hiller's company, Colonel Jonathan Titcomb's regiment, enlisted July 11, 1777, discharged August 11, 1777, service two months, six days, on an alarm at Rhode Island; roll dated Camp at Providence. Reported remained in camp under Lieutenant John Watts.

BACHELLER, JAMES,—private, son of Samuel and Hannah (Breed) Bacheller, was born in Lynn, February 26, 1756. His father was an older brother of Rupee, Theophilus, and Jonathan Bacheller, all of whom were in the Revolution. Like most of the young men and boys of the town, he was enrolled as a minute-man, and went with his company on the 19th of April. He saw no further service. He was married in Lynn, August 26, 1784, by Rev. Obadiah Parsons, to Elizabeth Perkins, born November 8, 1761. His home was in a small, two-story house which stood on the Common, on the site of the David S. Boynton estate, at the corner of Hanover Street. In a little shop near by he carried on the business of shoemaking. He had a class of customers among the wealthy people of Salem, and made frequent trips there, accompanied by his apprentice boy, John Lewis Loring, who is still living (in 1902). Mr. Loring says that the shop of Mr. Bacheller was the rendezvous of the old veterans who came in to fight their battles over to the accompaniment of the busy click of the hammer.

The children of James Bacheller were Aaron Newhall, Polly, Samuel, Betsey, Nathaniel, James, and Sally. Mr. Bacheller took little part in the affairs of the town, being of a quiet and retiring nature. He was pensioned under the first act giving pensions to Revolutionary soldiers at the rate of \$1.25 per month. The records of the pension office were unfortunately burned, and no data of early cases have been preserved. He died August 31, 1837, and his wife died December 13, 1845. They are interred in the old Western Burial Ground, where a marble stone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were placed at his grave in 1904.

BACHELLER, JONATHAN,—son of Henry and Sarah (Stocker) Bacheller, was born in Lynn, August 20, 1758. No other record except that of his Revolutionary service has been found.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Samuel Huse's company, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards, enlisted July 13, 1778, discharged December 14, 1778, service five months, three days; private, Captain Simeon Brown's company, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regi-

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ment of guards, service from April 2, 1778, to July 3, 1778, three months and two days; roll dated Camp at Winter Hill; also same company and regiment, a service from July 2 to July 12, 1778, ten days.

BACHELLER, THEOPHILUS, son of Henry and Sarah (Stocker) Bacheller, was born June 11, 1751; married, by Rev. Joseph Roby, to Mehitable Breed, daughter of Josiah and Mary Breed, November 28, 1781; children, Josiah, Mehitable, Sarah, Samuel, James, and Samuel. He was married, second, by Justice Dorman, of Andover, to Zerviah Cornish.

His home was at the corner of South Street and Market Square, in a house which he built and which remained on the same spot until April, 1903, when

Theophilus Bacheller

it was moved to the rear of the lot and converted into a tenement house. The venerable Mr. Benjamin S. Skinner, who remembers Theophilus Bacheller well, describes him as a small man of very pleasant countenance, whose occupation was that of a cabinet-maker. He was one of the five remaining members of the old First Church in 1791, when the Methodists formed the new society. His death occurred in October, 1833; that of his wife, Mehitable, February 29, 1804, at the age of forty-seven, and of his second wife, Zerviah, April 11, 1824, at the age of sixty-three.

Revolutionary record: In his deposition for a pension he says that he enlisted, February 5, 1776, as private in Captain Edes's company, and served two months at Prospect Hill and was then discharged. In the summer of 1776 he served several weeks in Captain Bullard's company, and was serving in Boston under General Ward when he heard the Declaration of Independence read from the balcony of the Old State House. On May 6, 1777, he again enlisted as a volunteer in Captain Joseph Hiller's company, Colonel Jonathan Titecomb's regiment, and served until July 6 on a campaign to Rhode Island, and was discharged there. On November 1, 1777, he enlisted as a substitute for one Breeden, and was soon appointed as a sergeant-major in Captain Inse's company, both in Colonel Gerrish's regiment, and served therein at Cambridge fourteen months till December 28, 1778. He was appointed lieutenant, November 6, 1778, and during all of said time of service he was employed in guarding the Hessians and British prisoners at Cambridge, and remained there for a month after they had gone. Sta-

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tioned at Winter Hill, he says that he kept an orderly-book as sergeant-major, and this was in his possession in 1832. The name of Rufus Choate appears as a witness for his character in the application made August 16, 1833. Three commissions are filed, one as second lieutenant, from the Council, and two from Colonel Jacob Gerrish, as sergeant and sergeant-major, dated May 1, 1778, and July 14, 1778. He was pensioned at \$92.25 per year from March 4, 1831. A certificate was issued September 21, 1833, one month before his death.

BAILEY, AARON,—was a tailor, who lived on Boston Street and worked in the shop owned by Jedediah Newhall. Little is known of him. An Aaron was married May 26, 1814, to Lucy Barron, and died April 8, 1834. His name appears on a list of men, who served at Concord battle and elsewhere, belonging to Lynn, Lynnfield, and Saugus; service, two days.

BAKER, JOHN,—private, thirteenth child of Thomas and Rebecca (Kellse) Baker, was born in Lynn, May 16, 1753. He was descended from John Baker, who was in Lynn as early as 1642. After the 19th of April, 1775, he returned to Lynn, and enlisted on the 6th of May in the company of Captain Ezra Newhall, then forming for service in the new army. He was present at the evacuation of Boston, and later marched with his regiment to New York, where he participated in the battles of Fort Washington and Fort Lee. His regiment afterward retreated across New Jersey with Washington, and was in the battle of Trenton. All trace of Private Baker is lost at this point, and it is possible that he died in the service.

BALLARD, JOSEPH,—son of Ebenezer Ballard, of Lynn, was born in 1746; married November 27, 1767, to Mary Norwood; probably had no children. He died May 31, 1796, and is buried in the old Western Burial



Ground beside his wife, who died August 25, 1801. The following inscription is on his gravestone: "Who in the meridian of his years endeared himself to society by that general deportment which characterize the good citizen." He was on the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety in 1778, and the Massachusetts Archives also give the following service: First lieutenant, Captain Rufus Mansfield's 4th company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, two days.

Lynn in the Revolution

BANCROFT, ESAL. — seaman, ship "Pilgrim," commanded by Captain Joseph Robinson; descriptive list of officers and crew dated August 2, 1780; age, twelve years; stature, 4 ft. 6 in.; complexion, black; residence, Lynn.

BANCROFT, JAMES, son of John and Ruth (Newhall) Bancroft, was born in Lynnfield, March 21, 1732; was grandson of Thomas Bancroft, the emigrant ancestor, and nephew of Captain Nathaniel Bancroft. He was married in Reading, November 25, 1755, to Esther Smith, of Reading, and lived in Lynnfield Centre, in the house known as the "Bancroft House." He was a tilling-man in 1757 and a warden in 1774, also serving as clerk of the parish in 1779-80. He was at the time of the Revolution a slaveholder, for on August 23, 1772, he, as master, offered for baptism "Essex," a negro.

The Revolutionary record is given as follows: Private, Captain Nathaniel Bancroft's company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, two days.

The following service also probably belongs to this man: Lieutenant in Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, commissioned June 7, 1775; also Captain Gideon Foster's company, Colonel Mansfield's regiment; receipt for wages dated Cambridge, June 26, 1775; also receipt for advance pay dated Cambridge, July 4, 1775; also muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 6, 1775; service, three months, two days; also Captain John Baker's company, Colonel Mansfield's regiment; company return (probably October, 1775); also Captain Baker's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Winter Hill, December 25, 1775; return of men enlisted in Continental Army from 1st Essex County regiment dated February 16, 1778; joined Captain James Bancroft's company, Colonel Michael Jackson's regiment; enlistment three years or during the war; also ensign, Colonel Jackson's regiment; list of officers dated West Point, November 8, 1779; also list of officers promoted in the Continental Army; commissioned July 4, 1780, also Continental Army pay accounts for service from January, 1, 1780, to December 31, 1780; reported served four months, twenty days as ensign, seven months, ten days as lieutenant; also reported as agent of the 8th regiment; also lieutenant in Colonel Ezra Bedlam's (8th) regiment; list of officers dated Phillipsburgh, July 18, 1782; enlisted May 12, 1780. Mass. Archives.

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The death of Lieutenant James Bancroft occurred August 22, 1814, and that of his wife on March 25, 1814. Both are buried in the old ground at Lynnfield Centre, and a bronze marker of the S. A. R. was placed at his grave in 1904.

BANCROFT, JAMES.—There is some doubt in regard to the identity of the James Bancroft who was a member of Captain Ezra Newhall's company on the 19th of April. As nearly as can be ascertained, he was a son of James and Esther (Smith) Bancroft, and was baptized in Lynnfield, January 2, 1757. He was married to Sarah Parsons, of Leicester, Mass.



Served through the war, being discharged in 1783. At the time of his death in April, 1803, he was an inspector in the Boston Custom House. The military record of James Bancroft, as it appears on the Massachusetts rolls, is as follows:—

Private, Captain Ezra Newhall's company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, fifteen days.

Sergeant, Colonel Michael Jackson's regiment; Continental pay accounts for service from March 21, 1777, to October 6, 1777; reported promoted to ensign; also ensign; Continental pay accounts for service from October 7, 1777, to December 31, 1779; also sergeant, Captain James Bancroft's company, Colonel Jackson's regiment; return dated April 9, 1779.

BANCROFT, JOB.—son of John and Eve Bancroft, brother of John and half-brother of Lieutenant James, was born in Lynnfield, April 7, 1754; married Sarah Upton, of North Reading, January 10, 1782, and lived in 1789 and 1797 in Salem. He died, July 7, 1802, at the age of forty-eight. He is buried in the old Hill Cemetery, near the old State Normal School, in Salem. By occupation he was a housewright.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Miles Greenwood's company, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards, enlisted November 11, 1777; roll made up to February 2, 1778; service, two months, twenty-two days; also pay-roll for service from February 3, 1778, to April 3, 1778, two months, one day; roll dated Camp at Winter Hill; also private, Captain John Flint's company, Colonel David Green's regiment, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, service two days; also Captain Asa Prince's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment;

Lynn in the Revolution

order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 8, 1775; service, three months; reported enlisted from the Second Parish in Reading; also company return dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Prince's company, Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Hutchinson's (19th) regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated December 21, 1775.—Mass. Rolls.

BANCROFT, JOHN,—son of John and Eve Bancroft, was born in Lynn, October 21, 1749. He was a housewright, and lived in Reading and Lynnfield. He was married by Rev. Benjamin Adams, October 24, 1768, to Mary Walton, daughter of Jacob and Eunice (Hawkes) Walton, of Reading; children, John, Mary, Eunice, Nathaniel, Betty, Jacob, and Rhoda.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Enoch Putnam's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also private, muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 12, 1775; service, two months, fifteen days; also company return dated October 6, 1775; reported enlisted in the train July 19, 1775; also Captain Putnam's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, October 27, 1775; also matross, Lieutenant William Perkins's company, Colonel Richard Gridley's (artillery) regiment; company returns (probably October, 1775); also order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated November 6, 1775.

BANCROFT, JOHN.—Little has been found concerning this man except that he was born in Lunenburg, Mass., November 14, 1753, and came to Lynnfield in 1756, and lived with his uncle, to whom he was later bound out. He was married June 20, 1776, to Mrs. Mary Newhall. He was a private in Captain Ezra Newhall's company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, service fifteen days; also in Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated



Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also private, muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 4, 1775, service three months, four days; also private and corporal; company returns dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment (19th); order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775.—Mass. Archives.

See Appendix



Seal of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay

Greeting.

Notice of the Power and Authority is and by His Majesty's Royal Commission to the said Captain General, is over this His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, as General, do by this Order (signing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct) constitute and appoint You the said

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Governor in leading, ordering and carrying said Province in that both inferior (Officers and Soldiers) and to keep them in good Order and Discipline and they are hereby commanded to obey you without and you are your self to observe and follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at Boston, the 27 Day of In the Year of the Reign of His Majesty King GEORGE, the THIRD, Annoq; Domini, 1734.

Lynn in the Revolution

BANCROFT, NATHANIEL,—captain of the Lynnfield company, April 19, 1775, was the son of Deacon John and Mary (Mansfield) Bancroft, and was born in Lynnfield, October 22, 1725.

Nathl Bancroft

He was grandson of Ensign John and Elizabeth (Eaton) Bancroft, and great-grandson of Lieutenant Thomas Ban-

croft, who came to Dedham, Mass., in 1647. In 1655 Lieutenant Thomas hired a part of Samuel Bennett's five-hundred-acre lot at Saugus, and in 1670 bought sixty acres at Beaver Dam, Lynnfield.

Inasmuch as the name Bancroft is one of the most prominent in the Lynnfield records, it may not be out of place here to enter into a description of the home of Thomas, the ancestor of Captain Nathaniel. Mrs. Mary A. Parsons, of Lynnfield, whose knowledge of the old Second Parish is very valuable, says: "In 1678 Elizur Holyoke sold James Russell, of Charlestown, a farm near 'Reding,' of some 550 acres, 'which lands were partly granted and partly purchased by my honored grandfather, Mr. Edward Holyoke, of Lynn.' The land had been improved by Thomas Bancroft, and in the deed of sale exception is made of a small piece 'about an acre and a half which the sd. Bancroft hath built upon and fenced in from sd. farm.' It is further described in a document conveying it to Thomas Bancroft as a 'parcell of land in Linn, neare Beaver dam at ye east corner of my farme lately sold James Russell of Charlestown.' The boundaries of the Holyoke land can be so traced as to leave no doubt that the east corner of the farm corresponds with the site of the ancient Bancroft house in Lynnfield, illustrated herewith. In this connection it is interesting to add that in one of the old genealogies of the Bancroft family it is stated that Thomas Bancroft settled in Lynnfield (so called) near where the meeting-house now stands." This of course refers to the old church erected in 1714. August 19, 1691, the immigrant, Thomas Bancroft, then styled Lieutenant, died, and in the following autumn his estate was divided. The homestead, including house and land, fell to the youngest son, Ebenezer. The property remained in this line until the spring of 1895, when the house and three acres of land were sold. In the year following the house was torn down. Mr. Ebenezer Parsons, of Lynnfield, the last occupant, is of the seventh generation from Lieutenant Thomas, the line being, Lieutenant Thomas¹, Captain Ebenezer², Cap-

Lynn in the Revolution

tain Ebenezer³, Lois (Bancroft) Parsons⁴, Ebenezer Parsons⁵, Ebenezer Parsons⁶, Ebenezer Parsons⁷. Mr. Parsons easily remembers his grandfather, the Revolutionary soldier whose maternal grandfather, Captain Ebenezer Bancroft, was grandson of Lieutenant Thomas. The occupancy of the premises for generations by descendants of Lieutenant Thomas explains the present possession of many relics of the past by the living representatives of the family.

As to the house itself, it was originally built with a simple gambrel roof, the extension shown in the illustration being probably less than one hundred years old. Though there are traditions relative to internal changes, such as of certain rooms having been finished off later than others and of the big fireplaces giving way to smaller ones, there is yet not the faintest suggestion that the owner sought to improve away the house in favor of a new one. As to the style of architecture, in determining the age of the building, it may be said that the gambrel roof is likely to be of a date ranging from about 1692 to 1745, although a tradition says that the gambrel roof on the "Witch House" at Salem was put on before 1668.

The first entry in the Lynn Precinct Book mentions a meeting in the old house, as follows:—

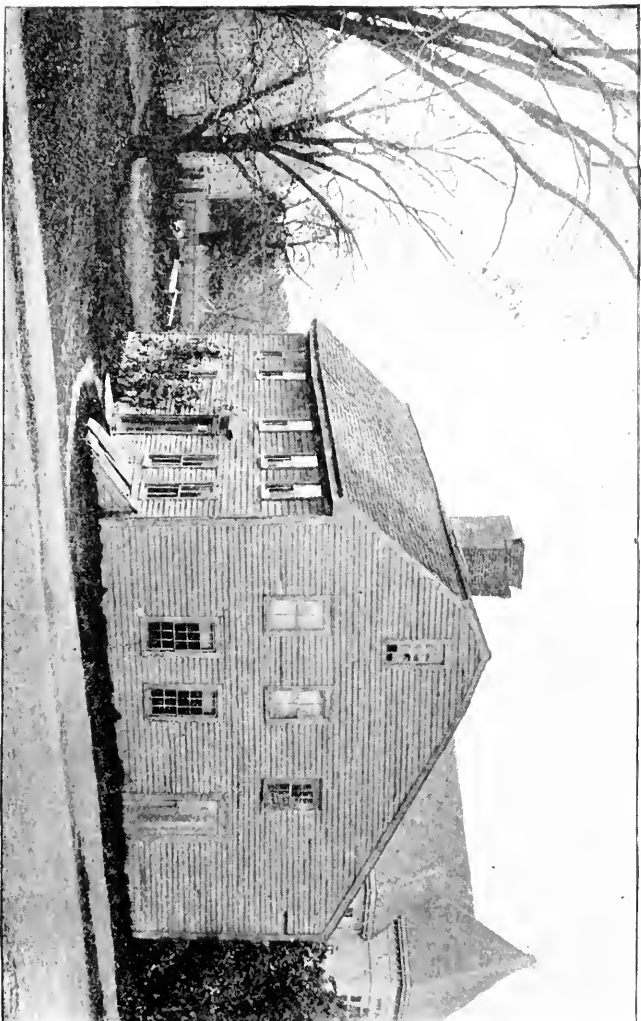
"LYN, Janewary 16 1711.

then ye inhabiteus of Lyn farms so calld on ye north sid of ye heyway yt leads from Reding to Sulem having had information yt part of our inhabitants are by part of Reding drawn in a petision with them for the bulding of a meeting hous we then met together at ye house of capt. bancroft and agreed on a plas for seting a meeting hous."

The captain mentioned was Captain Ebenezer, son of Lieutenant Thomas, the immigrant. Another entry reads:—

"Lyn, Jue 8, 1713 then the Inhabitants of Lynn on the north side of Salem road met at the hous of capt. Bancroft and Agreed by vote to petition the generall Cort for a presenet."

Thus it will be seen that the house began early to be connected with the theological and political history of the "farms." At a later day, when it was the "Sun Tavern," its walls echoed with the deliberations of the town fathers, and there was an apartment in it known as the "Selectmen's room," which contained a mahogany table from which they dined on election day.



THE NATHANIEL BANGSFOOT HOUSE, LYNNFIELD

Lynn in the Revolution

Although the first Ebenezer Parsons was only fourteen years and four months old when independence was declared, he went forth again and again to fight for his country. Of his grandmother, "relict" of the second Captain Ebenezer Bancroft, the quaint church record made by her minister, Rev. Mr. Adams, reads: "Thus died that Godly woman."

Long after the Revolution, during the war of the sects, Mr. Parsons gave land for a Methodist church building, and many an argument on free grace *versus* predestination was heard in the Bancroft house, and there was bitter grief when the little church, after a few prosperous years, went down. Few other houses in Lynn farms or even Lynn could tell so much, if spoken words could be reflected from their ancient walls. Yet the time came in the course of the march of progress when this house was felt to be in the way, for it came so close to the road, when the latter was straightened, that it seemed out of gear with its surroundings, and, since it had not been kept in good repair for some time, it was better perhaps that it should be taken down and allowed to sleep with its fathers of the wilderness, from whence came its big oak beams and rafters.

It is not certain whether or not Captain Nathaniel Bancroft was born in the old Bancroft house. His first dwelling of which we have knowledge was the old house in which he lived after his marriage on the 18th of May, 1749, to Mary Taylor, of Sudbury, Mass. This house stood near the one now occupied by Mr. John M. Danforth. It was demolished years ago, and he later built the large house now occupied by Mr. Danforth, who is his great-grandson. The children of Nathaniel Bancroft were Nathaniel, Thayer, Hannah, Nathaniel, Bridget, Mary, and Thomas. He early became prominent in military and town affairs. On February 7, 1767, he was commissioned captain of the military company of foot, of Lynn, in the regiment of militia in the county of Essex, Benjamin Pickman colonel. The commission issued by the royal governor, Francis Bernard, and countersigned by Andrew Oliver, of Stamp Act notoriety, is a venerable relic, which through the courtesy of his great-grandson, John M. Danforth, of Lynnfield, is reproduced herewith. The town records show the fact that he was tithingman in 1757, 1758, 1762, 1764, 1771, and 1773; warden in 1763; selectman 1769, 1770; treasurer of the parish 1765, 1774, 1776 to 1781,

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1783, 1785, 1786, and 1787. He was chosen a deacon of the Second Parish Church, May 31, 1763, which office he held until his death. During the fall preceding the Revolution he again became interested in military affairs, and was made lieutenant of the Lynnfield company of minute-men. Soon after he was given his old position as captain. On the morning of the 19th of April he mustered his company, and, although fifty years of age, marched with his men to Menotomy, the circumstances of which are related in the Lexington chapter of this book. On May 8, 1775, he was elected a delegate to the Provincial Congress, but declined to accept. In 1781 and 1782 he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety for the town, and did patriotic service in that connection. He was at all times prominent in the consideration of town and religious matters, and was highly esteemed for his integrity and steadfastness of character. Deacon Nathaniel Bancroft died June 26, 1810, at the age of eighty-five. His wife, Mary, died October 5, 1815, at the age of ninety. Both are buried in the old cemetery at Lynnfield Centre, just opposite the church where for fifty years he was an honored figure. Their graves are suitably marked, and his stone bears the inscription: "He served his generation by the will of God and was laid with his fathers." The *Essex Gazette*, of contemporary date, in commenting upon his death, said, "He was a gentleman who in private and public life sustained a character of distinguished excellence."

BASSETT, WILLIAM,—not strictly a Lynn man.

Revolutionary record: Return of men enlisted into the Continental Army from 1st Essex County regiment dated February 16, 1778; residence, Boston; enlisted for town of Lynn; joined Captain Allen's company, Colonel Crane's regiment; enlistment for three years or for the war.—Mass. Archives.

BATES, SAMUEL.—Descriptive list of men raised to reinforce the Continental Army for the term of six months, agreeable to resolve of June 5, 1780; age, twenty-four years; stature, 5 ft. 6 in.; complexion, ruddy; residence, Lynn; arrived at Springfield July 17, 1780, under command of Captain Abner Howard; also pay-roll for six months' men raised by town of Lynn for service in the Continental Army during 1780; marched June 27, 1780; discharged January 13, 1781; service, six months, twenty-nine days.

Lynn in the Revolution

BATTS, JOHN,—sergeant in Captain Ezra Newhall's company on April 19, 1775, came to Lynnfield from Malden. He was warned out of Lynn, December 18, 1765, with his wife, Hannah, and children, John and Ruth, they having come in October of that year. The wife Hannah, who is mentioned in the old record, was Hannah Brown, to whom he was married in Malden, published August 30, 1761, by Rev. J. Emerson. She died in 1777, and he married, second, Rebecca Lock, of Cambridge, May 10, 1778,

John Batts

Rev. Mr. Roby performing the ceremony. John Batts had a large family of children, and occupied during the later years of his life the house on Lincoln Street in Saugus, known during the Revolution as



HOUSE OF JOHN BATTS

the Thomas Stocker place. His son William became somewhat noted in the privateering business during the War of 1812, and, being under age at the time, the prize money which was his portion came to the father. The daughter Hannah married Lewis Bruce, a soldier of the Revolution. The date of the death of John Batts is unknown. The pension records give the fact of a pension having been granted his widow, Rebecca, August 28, 1832, at which time she was eighty-two years of age. The amount which she received was \$87.66 a year up to the time of her death, March 4, 1841.

Besides acting as sergeant in Captain Ezra Newhall's company of minute-men, serving twenty-one days, John Batts enlisted in Captain

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Joseph Stocker's company, Colonel Wade's regiment, and went to Ticonderoga as a lieutenant, serving three months. He returned home by way of Worcester with the invalids. November 11, 1777, he enlisted in Captain Miles Greenwood's company, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards at Winter Hill, and served there until February 2, 1778. It is said that while at Ticonderoga he took the place for some time of one of the engineers who was sick. He was also at West Point at the time of Arnold's treason, and may have seen other service.

BELKNAP, ABEL.—son of William and Hannah (Flagg) Belknap, was born in Woburn, May 24, 1754; married September 27, 1774, by Rev. John Treadwell, to Bethia Newhall, daughter of Andrew and Susanna (Brown) Newhall, born in Lynn, August 8, 1755. Her sisters married Theophilus Farrington and Isaac Organ, Revolutionary soldiers. June 11, 1796, Abel and Bethia Belknap conveyed land in Lynn, they being then of "Germaine Flats." It is probable that he removed to Canajoharie township, Montgomery County, N.Y., about 1790, inasmuch as his name is given among heads of families of that place in that year. From thence he removed to Germaine Flats in the neighboring Herkimer County, and from thence, about the year 1812, to Chili or Rega, now known as Chili Station, nine miles from Rochester. At the latter place he seems to have been the prime mover in organizing a Presbyterian church, and the session records show that he and his wife and two children became identified with that church by letter. The names of his children are given in the following order: Abel, Hannah, Susannah, Polly, Sally, Elizabeth, Clarinda, and a son John, mentioned at the conclusion of his will as having had his share.

Abel Belknap and his wife, Bethia, died at Chili Station, where both are buried. Abel's death occurred April 3, 1838, and Bethia's October 26, 1833. Through the courtesy of Mr. H. E. V. Porter, of Jamestown, N.Y., a descendant of Abel Belknap, we are able to give some facts concerning his death. Mr. Porter recently visited Mrs. George Baldwin, an old lady of some eighty years of age, still living at Chili Station, whose husband was the grandson of Abel Belknap. She remembers the latter well, having known him when she was a child, and she distinctly remembers having heard him many times speak of his experiences as a soldier. Of his death, which was the result of an accident, she went on to say that he was very hard of hearing as a result of his

Lynn in the Revolution

service in the Revolution, and on account of this he stepped in front of a horse driven by a reckless rider, and thus received injuries which caused his death.

The following is his Revolutionary record: Private, list of men, who served at Concord battle and elsewhere, belonging to Lynn, Lynnfield, and Saugus; also Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also company return dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775; list of men taken from the orderly-book of Colonel Israel Hutchinson of the 27th regiment, dated Fort Lee, November 16, 1776; reported taken prisoner at Fort Washington; served in Captain Newhall's company.—Mass. Rolls.

BENT, TIMOTHY,—son of Hopestill and Beulah (Rice) Bent, was born in Sudbury, Mass., March 24, 1747.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain John Williams's company, Colonel Rufus Putnam's (4th) regiment; muster return dated Albany, February 9, 1778; residence, Lynn; enlisted from the town of Lynn; mustered by John Cushing, Esq., reported deceased.—Mass. Rolls.

BERRY, JAMES,—supposed to be the James who was married to Mary Stocker, November 29, 1764, by Rev. Joseph Roby.

Revolutionary record: Second lieutenant, Captain Zadock Buflinton's company, Colonel Johnson's regiment; enlisted August 12, 1777; discharged November 30, 1777, at Cambridge; service, three months, nineteen days.—Mass. Roll.

BERRY, JOHN,—was probably born about 1742. He married Rachel, daughter of John and Ruth (Bancroft) Berry, about 1770. His children were Sarah, Rachel, Joseph, Lucy, and John. He and his wife (who was a sister of James, Job, and John, and niece of Captain Nathaniel Bancroft) owned the covenant at Lynnfield, December 22, 1771. That he was a blacksmith is proved by an order given by the parish, November 23, 1770, for hinges for the church, and later for repairs. He was paid for "mending the parsonage fences" in 1770, and for "taking care of the meeting-house" in 1774. Little is known of him, except that he was with his company on the 19th of April, and was one of those who that night helped to bring home the body of his

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neighbor, Daniel Townsend. He died soon after the war, and was buried in the old ground at Lynntield Centre. A marble stone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were placed at his grave in 1904.

BERRY, SAMUEL.—a Samuel and wife, Mary, with children, Thomas, Hannah, and Mary, were warned out of town in 1771. They were from Woburn, and he is probably the Samuel whose Revolutionary record was as follows: Fifer, Captain Ezra Newhall's company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, fourteen days; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 2, 1775; service, three months six days; also company return dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's (19th) regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Camp at Winter Hill, November 4, 1775.—Mass. Archives.

BERRY, THOMAS,—son of Thomas and Rebecca (Ballard) Berry, was born in Saugus, May 30, 1734, and probably descended from Thaddeus, who came from Ireland and was in Lynn in 1665. It is also probable that he is identical with the Thomas Berry who appears on the rolls as drummer, and also with the Thomas Barry who was the drummer in Captain David Parker's Saugus company, on the 19th of April, 1775. The name "Barry" does not appear on the Saugus church records, but "Berry" does, and it is safe to assume that the names are one. After the engagement of April 19, Thomas Berry enlisted in Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, and received advance pay at Cambridge, June 8, 1775. He was within sight of the battle of Bunker Hill with his company on the 17th of June, 1775, and on the 4th of November he received an order for a bounty coat or its equivalent in money, and was in camp at Winter Hill during the following winter. In the spring of 1777 the advance of General Burgoyne occasioned a demand for men, and the town voted to give each man who should enlist for three years the sum of £14, and an additional bounty of £10 if he should serve until the end of the following November. Mr. Berry enlisted March 9, 1777, as a drummer, and marched with a considerable number of men to Peekskill, N.Y., where he was assigned to Captain John Williams's company, Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Massachusetts regiment. Here he served in the Burgoyne cam-

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paign, and was in the engagements at Stillwater and Saratoga. At the surrender of the British general his drum was one of those which beat the march while the lines of the enemy filed by to stack their arms. His name appears on the Continental Army pay accounts for service to December 31, 1779, and on various muster-rolls, dated at Albany, as late as March 11, 1780, at which time his enlistment expired. He was then honorably discharged.

The will of a Thomas Berry is on file at the Probate Court at Salem, and was placed there May 2, 1781. It is not unlikely that it belonged to this man. In it his wife Mary was made executrix, and his son James is mentioned. He describes himself as a cordwainer. The inventory is interesting as showing the great depreciation of the Continental currency at that time. The estate was appraised at £3,115. This sum was reduced by the scale of depreciation to silver money to the amount of £4 5s. 2d. Among other things mentioned are "one pair silk hose, £60, one beaver hat, £150, two coats and one jacket, £250, two gallons of rum, £40."

Thomas Berry is undoubtedly buried in the old Western Burial Ground in an unmarked grave, possibly near that of his son James, which is at the left of the entrance.

BEETLE, EDWARD,—pay-roll for six months' men raised by the town of Lynn for service in the Continental Army in 1780 (service not given). Reported deserted.—Mass. Archives.

BLANCHARD, AMOS,—was not accredited to the town of Lynn during the war, but lived here at its close. He was a pensioner in 1840, and died May



25, 1842, aged seventy-six. He was one of the very last of the old Revolutionary heroes to die, and was buried in an unmarked grave in the old West-

ern Burial Ground. He was one of the four prominent survivors of the war who took part in the celebration of the 4th of July, 1825.

The old "Merry House," so called, was on the northerly side of Boston Street, near Grove. Master Amos Blanchard lived there, and taught the little school at the western end of the Common. He was a musician in the Revolutionary War. From 1811 to 1824 he led the singing in the Old Tunnel Meeting-House, and played the bass-viol in the church for many years.

Lynn in the Revolution

BLANCHARD, JOHN,—son of Ebenezer and Mary (Ramsdell) Blanchard, was born October 25, 1753.

Revolutionary record: In Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel Asa Whetcomb's regiment; order for pay for service for one month dated Cambridge, June 10, 1775; also private, Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Mansfield's regiment; muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted June 20, 1775; service, one month, fourteen days; also company return dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775.—Mass. Archives.

BOARDMAN, AARON,—son of William and Abiah Boardman, was born in Saugus, March 14, 1724; married September 26, 1754, to Mary, daughter of Thomas and Eunice (Ivory) Cheever,

Aaron Boardman

born May 4, 1732. His children were Aaron, Mary, Rhoda, Lydia, and Huldah, and possibly others. His Revolutionary

service was confined to that in Captain David Parker's company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775. He died November 11, 1799, and is buried in the old burial-ground at Saugus Centre. His grave is marked by a tall slate stone and a bronze marker of the S. A. R. which was placed there in 1903.

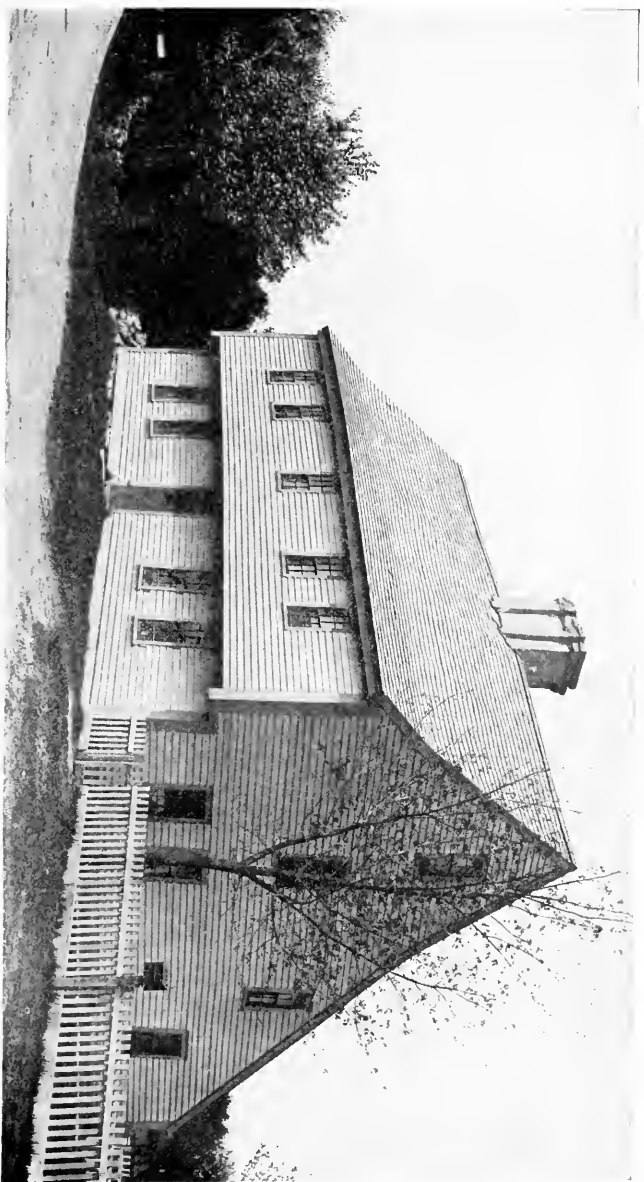
BOARDMAN, AMOS,—lieutenant, son of Amos and Elizabeth (Smith) Boardman, was born in the Abijah Boardman house in Chelsea, now in Saugus, May 15, 1755. He was fourth in descent from Amos Boardman, of Cambridge, who settled there in 1636, and who died there in 1685, aged seventy-one, the ancestor of all of his name in Saugus. Lieutenant Amos

Amos Boardman

Boardman responded to the Lexington alarm as a private in the company of Captain David Parker, of Saugus.

At this time he was living with Adam Hawkes. Ten days after the battle of Lexington, with his brother Benjamin, he enlisted as a private in Captain John Bacheller's company, Colonel Ebenezer Bridge's regiment, and received advance pay for his services at Cambridge, June 6. His company was in the battle of Bunker Hill during the latter part of the contest. At the conclusion of the battle he went into camp at Cambridge, where he

THE ABRAHAM BOARDMAN HOUSE, SATUGUS



Lynn in the Revolution

did duty until he was discharged, January 1, 1776. He at once re-enlisted as a private in Captain Edward Burbeck's company, in Colonel Henry Knox's regiment of artillery, and was made lieutenant. In April, his captain being absent, the company was placed under his command, and he marched with it to New York, and was at White Plains and other places in the vicinity during the year. On the expiration of his service, January 1, 1777, General Washington personally requested him to remain six weeks longer, which he did, and was then discharged. He again enlisted, August 20, 1777, as a private in Captain Joseph Fuller's company, Colonel Samuel Bullard's regiment, and marched to intercept Burgoyne. He was in the battles of September 19 and October 7, preceding the surrender of the British army, and was present at the capitulation. Afterward he was detailed to assist in guarding the captured army on its march to Cambridge, where he was discharged. November 29, 1777, after a service of three months and twenty-two days. December 1, 1777, he again enlisted for three months in Captain James Furnevall's company, Major Stevens's battalion of artillery. His next enlistment was February 12, 1779, as sergeant in Captain Nathan Sargent's company of guards, and he did duty in and about Boston under Major-General Gates until May 12, 1779, when he was finally discharged from the Continental service.

After the outbreak of the war he removed to South Reading, now Wakefield. He was married November 30, 1779, by Rev. Mr. Cummings, to Mary Lewis, of Billerica, daughter of Benjamin and Mary (Brown) Lewis, born January 19, 1755. For the remainder of his life he lived in South Reading, and there his children, Amos, Mary, Sarah, and Rebecca, were born. During his latter years he was severely afflicted with rheumatism, and, being in need, he was granted a pension of eight dollars a month under the act of 1818, the same taking effect July 10, 1819. This small stipend he enjoyed for only nine months, when his name was stricken from the rolls. This was occasioned by the rapidly growing list of pensioners and the fear that the country would become financially embarrassed. The name of every man who had the slightest visible means of support was taken from the pension list, and Mr. Boardman was among that number. He died in Wakefield, August 12, 1823, aged sixty-eight years. In 1843 his widow was granted a pension, under the act of 1838, of \$66.67 per year. She lived but a short time, however.

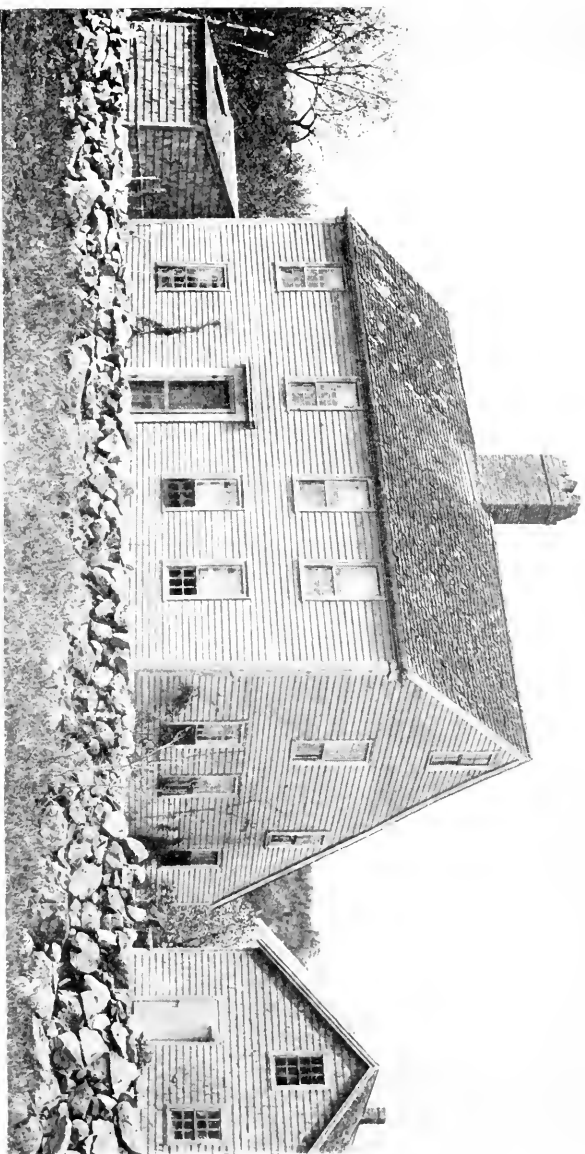
Lynn in the Revolution

for her death occurred in Wakefield, September 3, 1844, at the age of eighty-nine. Both are buried in the old burial-ground at Wakefield, where slate stones mark their graves. From the History of Reading the following notice is taken:—

“Col. Amos Boardman (he having attained that title in the militia after the war), was a notable man of commanding and portly personal appearance. Active, energetic, public-spirited, and patriotic, he exercised much influence in his day and generation. He was full of military ardor, and never felt better than when at the head of his regiment. He was a warm and zealous friend of education and the common schools, over which he long had official supervision. His earnest and stirring addresses to the scholars, when he made official visits, will be long remembered. He was profuse in his commendations and inspiring in his portrayal of what the pupils might become by good behavior and faithful study. ‘In fact,’ he would say, ‘by so doing you may be sure to rise in the world; true you may not all become colonel, as I am, though some of you may, and generals, governors, presidents, too, but you may all get to be somebodies, captains, sergeants, corporals, at least.’

“He changed his religious sentiments in later life from strict orthodox to Universalist, and was one of the founders of the society in South Reading.”

BOARDMAN, IVORY,—the “Iveny” Boardman of the muster-roll of Captain Parker’s company,—was son of John and Eunice (Cheever) Boardman, and born in Saugus, August 5, 1749. He lived in Boardman’s End, or the Oaklandvale of to-day, in an old house still standing and known as the “Ivory Boardman place,” and later as the “Joseph Cheever place.” He was married by Rev. Mr. Roby, January 30, 1774, to Mary Jenks, daughter of Nathan and Abigail (Wait) Jenks, born August 18, 1746. His sister, Lois, married Benjamin Goldthwaite who served in the same company. Mr. Boardman was with his neighbors when they marched to meet the British on April 19, 1775, but saw no further service. He returned home to cultivate his farm on the borders of Lynn. His children were Ivory, born just after the battle of Bunker Hill, Abijah, Sarah, Nathan Jenks, John, Joseph and Benjamin, the two latter being twins. His will was probated October 21, 1807, in which he designated himself as a cordwainer and yeoman. His brother-in-law, Benjamin Goldthwaite, was called upon to settle his estate, which



THE IVORY BOARDMAN HOUSE, SAGUS

Lynn in the Revolution

had dwindled greatly. He is buried in the old ground at Saugus Centre, where a marble gravestone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were placed at his grave in 1903.

BOARDMAN, JOHN,—probably Jonathan, eldest son of Samuel Boardman, was born about 1753 in Saugus. He was with his father on the 19th of April, and his name follows that of his father on the muster-roll of Captain Parker's company. Tradition says that later, while ploughing in the field one day, he was impressed into the Continental Army. It was at a time when men were scarce and the need great, and he had barely time to tell his brother William to bid his mother good-bye, when he was hurried off. He entered the service in some unknown company, was captured by the British and taken on board the infamous Jersey prison-ship. Here he suffered all the horrors of that terrible place, and was finally poisoned by means of liquor given to him under the pretence of kindness. A letter from him, written to his parents in 1783, will prove of great interest. The original is carefully preserved in the family of his descendants.

“NOVEMBER 15, 1783.

Jersey Prison Ship New Yorke

Dear Father and Mother This Being the Ferst Oppertunity I have hade to Lett you know That I unfortnly was Taken and Brought Into New York whear I am Now Remaining And Just Come out of the Small Pox Butt have gott Hartey and well of them And Hoping that you all Injoy the Blesing of Helth. I wolde Be Glad if You wold Try and gett Man for to Be Exchangd for me or I Shall Suffer hear This Winter For the yonsidg is verey Hard And Wolde Be Glad if you wold do all Lays in your Powr as Quick as Posable. Pleas to Lett John Cheavers Parance Know That he Died with the Small Pox the 11 Day of November No More At Presant But Remain your Loving son

JONATHAN BORMAN

Remember me to all Enquiring Friends.”

Addressed,

“MR. SAMUEL BORMAN,
Living In Lynn,
Newels Tavern.”

His grave is probably on the shores of Long Island, where so many Revolutionary soldiers were buried who were taken from the floating hulks in New York Harbor.

Lynn in the Revolution

BOARDMAN, SAMUEL,—son of William and Abiah, was born in Saugus, July 27, 1731. His home was in the ancient house opposite the fork of the Wakefield and Melrose roads. This house, one of the oldest in Essex County, was built two years after the Abijah Boardman house, and is still doing good service. It is surrounded by good intervals lands and is in a pleasant location. At the time of the Revolution the road swept around to the south and was narrow and inconvenient. This was remedied in 1818 by the construction of a new road across the meadow.

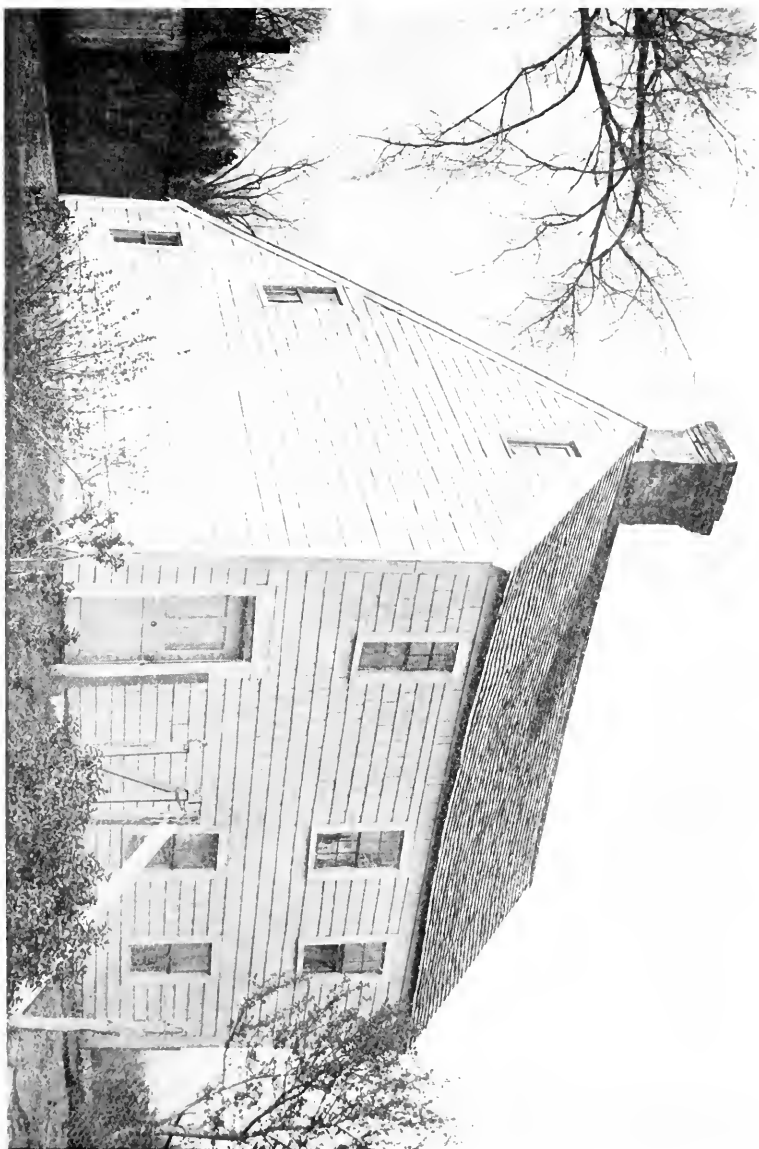
Samuel Boardman was married in Malden, December 5, 1760, by Rev. J. Emerson, to Abigail Grover, daughter of John and Abigail (Taylor) Grover, born September 4, 1739. He served with credit in the French and Indian War, and was with General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham. In 1768 he was chosen warden of the town, and served as tithing-man in 1776 and 1778, that office then being an elective one.

He was with his company on the 19th of April, together with his brother Aaron, but no record is given of further service. It must be remembered, however, that the muster and pay rolls on file in Massachusetts are incomplete, and it is certain that many Lynn men served beyond the time that is found recorded.

His will was offered for probate July 22, 1805, and his neighbor, Lieutenant Nathan Hawkes, was an appraiser of the estate, which amounted to \$5,680. He is buried in the old Saugus cemetery, near the centre of the yard. The grave was pointed out in 1903 by Miss Ellen Boardman, of Saugus, the great-grand-daughter of Samuel, and a marble gravestone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were placed there in that year.

BOARDMAN, WILLIAM,—son of Amos and Elizabeth (Smith) Boardman, was born January 15, 1736, in that part of Saugus now known as Oaklandvale, but in the time of the Revolution known as Boardman's End. Six of the name of Boardman are borne on the muster-roll of Captain David Parker, and each carried his musket over the forty rough miles of road traversed in response to the Lexington alarm. Their families occupied four houses, which, strange to say, are all standing. The William

Boardman house is the first of the four which is to be seen on entering Oaklandvale. Across the meadows, forty rods to the north where the



THE SATTEL BOARDMAN HOUSE, SAGGUS

Lynn in the Revolution

roads fork, one going north to Wakefield, the other to Melrose, stands an old two-story house which was occupied by Samuel Boardman. To the older people of to-day it may be remembered as the "Joe Rowe Place." Perhaps the best-known old mansion of Saugus, if not of this part of Essex County, on account of its projecting upper story, its well-sweep, and its conspicuous position, is west of the last-named, where the road branches toward Melrose, and known as the "Abijah Boardman House." It was built in 1635 or 1636, and was constructed for defence against the Indians. The house has a history full of litigation between towns and counties, between Chelsea and Lynn, Suffolk and Essex, as to the taxation of its owner, caused by the fact that the division line was formerly through the middle of the house. The little wedge of land that ran up to the "three county bound" has been annexed to Saugus, which town alone now has power to vex the owner with taxes. Three-quarters of a mile up the "Straight's" road, towards Wakefield and Castle Hill, stands what used to be known as the "Joseph Cheever House." This was the Ivory Boardman house of the Revolutionary period.

William Boardman was a soldier in the French and Indian War, and was in the expedition to Canada in 1758 under Captain Simon Slocomb. His only service in the Revolution which can be proved was at the Lexington alarm, although he undoubtedly saw more of the war. The records of several of this name appear in our state archives, but lack the place of residence. The Pension Office records show that he was granted one hundred acres of land May 1, 1792.

His marriage was on February 22, 1759, to Zebiah Livingstone, who was born July 9, 1730, daughter of Robert and Zebiah. No record of the death of William Boardman has been found.

BOWEN, EDWARD.—This is a name which was prominent in Marblehead and it is probable that the Edward Bowen here given was from that town. The orderly-book of Colonel Israel Hutchinson gives the name of Edward Bowen among the list of prisoners taken at Fort Washington, under date of November 16, 1776. This Edward, who was in Captain Ezra Newhall's company, may have been the one who died "Coming from New York," January 13, 1777. If so, he was the son of Captain Edward and Elizabeth (Boden) Bowen, born in Marblehead, August 17, 1755.

Lynn in the Revolution

A further record which appears under this name in the state archives is that he was in Captain Addison Richardson's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, through June and July of 1775, and in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment, same company, until October 27 of that year.

BOWDOIN, BENJAMIN.—This name, like that of "Bowen," was one which was common in Marblehead, the names "Francis" and "Benjamin" appearing frequently in different families of that town. There were Bowdens in Lynn before and during the Revolution, but thus far it has been impossible to connect them with any certainty with the Marblehead "Bowdens" from which they evidently came.

Mr. Hallowell mentions in his narrative the death of a Lynn soldier named Bowdoin in the battle at Fort Washington. He says that the man belonged to another regiment. On a return of killed and missing in Glover's regiment, November 19, 1776, Benjamin Bowden was reported missing since September 16, 1776. He was probably the same man mentioned by Hallowell.

Further service of Benjamin Bowden noted in the state archives is as follows: Certificate stating that said Bowden took the oath required by Congress to be taken by the army dated Middlesex County, July 24, 1775; also private, Captain Lindsey's company, commanded by Lieutenant Daniel Galeucia, Colonel Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment; muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted July 28, 1775; service, three days; also Captain Eleazer Lindsey's company, Colonel Samuel Gerrish's regiment; order for advance pay dated Malden, August 3, 1775; also Captain Daniel Gallusha's company, Colonel Woodbridge's regiment; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Malden, December 22, 1775.

Also list of men, who served at Concord battle and elsewhere, belonging to Lynn, Lynnfield, and Saugus.

BOWDOIN, FRANCIS.—Concerning the Bowden family, see Benjamin Bowden above.

Revolutionary service: Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also private, muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 3, 1775; service, three months, five days; also company return dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Israel

Lynn in the Revolution

Hutchinson's regiment (19th); order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775.—Mass. Muster Rolls.

List of men, who served as privates at Concord battle and elsewhere, belonging to Lynn, Lynnfield, and Saugus.—Mass. Muster Rolls.

BOYNTON, NATHANIEL,—was probably not born in Lynn, for the name is not local. A Nathaniel, son of Nathaniel, of Rowley, was born there, July 27, 1750, and this may have been the member of the Saugus company whose name is given on the muster-roll as "Nathaniel Byanton." His only service in the war was at the beginning, when he marched with his neighbors to Menotomy. Mr. Benjamin F. Newhall has left an interesting sketch of him, in which he says:—

"The farm of Nathaniel Boynton was south of Cliftondale. It was a famous farm in olden times, and was situated partly in Lynn and partly in Chelsea. The old farm-house and barn were standing as late as 1860, being a little remote from the travelled highway to Boston, the highway having been changed. Formerly the road ran between the house and the barn. The situation of the old house was quite romantic, being on the north side of the road and south of a rocky ledge. It was also at the foot of the hill called for many years 'Boynton's Hill.' This was the steepest hill between Boston and Salem, and was much dreaded by the drivers of heavy teams. Mr. Boynton was often called upon for an extra lift to encounter it, and Landlord Newhall often sent extra horses or oxen at the hour of the return of teams which were to stop at his house. Mr. Boynton was a good, industrious farmer, but rather noted for a fault-finding disposition, hardly ever being satisfied with what Providence bestowed. After his death the farm passed into the hands of his son, Ellis Boynton. Bride's Brook passes through the farm, and here George Washington was met on his way to the east in 1789."

Mr. Boynton was married by Rev. Mr. Roby, April 6, 1779, to Mary Viall, of Saugus, and had the following children: Sally, Polly, Nathaniel, Nathaniel, Lucy, Samuel, Ellis, and Elizabeth. He was surveyor of highways in 1781 and constable in 1785.

Letters of administration were granted on his estate to his wife, Mary, April 7, 1821. The estate was appraised at \$3,670. Mr. Boynton is buried in the old Saugus Centre ground, where a marble stone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were erected in 1903.

Lynn in the Revolution

BRAGG, JOSIAH, private (the Josiah Bragg of the muster-roll), was probably born in Reading and came to Lynnfield from that place in May, 1759, with wife, Rebecca, and children, Rebecca, Mercey, Mary, and Sarah. He first appears on the assessed list of the parish December 16, 1760. No mention is again made of him in the records of the town or parish, except the death of several young children, the last being Jacob, who died August 21, 1775, aged nine.

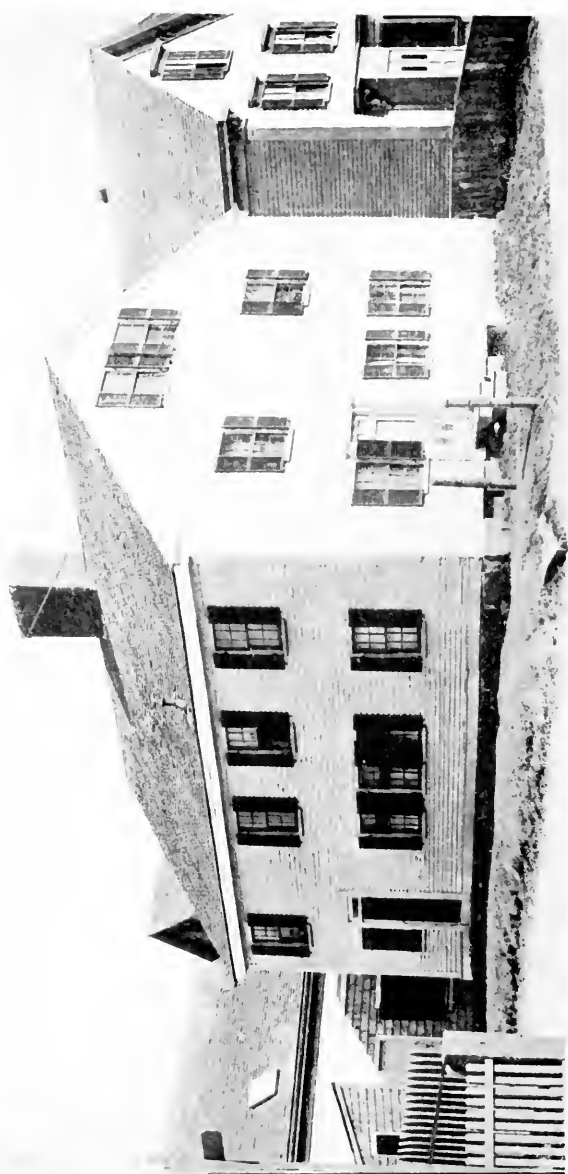
He served as a private at the Lexington alarm in Captain Bancroft's company. He enlisted, June 1, 1775, in Captain Eleazer Lindsey's company, Colonel Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's regiment, serving two months on guard duty at Malden. He again enlisted, August 3, in Captain Lindsey's company, which had been transferred to Colonel Samuel Gerrish's regiment, and received advance pay at Malden on that date. Having enlisted for eight months, he received an order for a bounty coat at Malden, October 25, 1775. Private Bragg remained on duty until January 1, 1776, when his term of enlistment expired. It is not known whether he continued in the Continental service. He was living in Lynnfield as late as 1800. In September, 1821, the Lynnfield church records note the death of "Widow Bragg, over eighty years."

BREED, AMOS,—private, was perhaps son of Ebenezer and Rebecca (Phillips) Breed, born in Lynn, November 4, 1739. The only service found is that of the 19th of April, 1775. He died August 19, 1821. It is well to note that this case is similar to many others which have been found, in that there were several of the same name in Lynn, and no record to show which one was entitled to the honor of being included in the Revolutionary rolls. The only one of likely age has here been mentioned.

BREED, AARON,—son of Amos and Ruth (Newhall) Breed, was born in Lynn, March 7, 1761, and died in Lynn, December 24, 1817. He was buried in the old tomb in the Western Burial Ground, but his remains were removed to Pine Grove Cemetery, where a stone and marker were erected in 1903. He was married by Rev. Mr. Treadwell, October 2, 1781, to Sarah

Aaron Breed

Attwill, who was born in Lynn, June 24, 1764. She died December 26, 1804. Their children were Anna, Anna, Ruth, Sally, Aaron,



THE EPHRAIM BREED HOUSE, SOUTH STREET, LYNN

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Lydia, Warner, Harriet, Abigail Burrill, Fullerton, Isaac, Isaac. He married, second, November 10, 1805, at Groton, Mrs. Mary (Kemp) Filebrown, born at Shelburne, March 17, 1776, Rev. Daniel Chaplin performing the ceremony. Children, Horace Anson, James Edwin, Harriet Almira, Hermione, and Lydia Maria. His widow, Mary, died April 30, 1841. The daughter Hermione became the wife of George Hood, the first mayor of Lynn. Aaron Breed lived near the corner of Pleasant and South Common Streets, and was a Quaker who fought in the Revolution.

The Revolutionary record taken from the state archives is as follows: Private in Captain Zadock Buffinton's company, Colonel Samuel Johnson's regiment; enlisted August 21, 1777; discharged November 30, 1777, at Cambridge; service, three months, ten days at the northward; also private, Captain Simeon Brown's company, Colonel Nathaniel Wade's regiment; enlisted July 21, 1778; service, five months, fifteen days; discharged at East Greenwich, R.I.; enlistment to expire January 1, 1779; company raised in Essex and York Counties.

BREED, EPHRAIM.—son of Joseph and Susannah (Newhall) Breed, was of the fourth generation from Allen Breed, the emigrant ancestor of the Breed family. Mr. George W. Rogers, in one of his interesting reminiscences published many years ago, gives the following sketch of Mr. Breed:—

“Ephraim Breed, a lineal descendant of Allen Breed, who lived in what is now called Breed's End, was born in the year 1736 [May 26], and died in Lynn, April 3, 1812.

Ephraim Breed aged seventy-six years. He was a remarkably strong man physically, and scarcely ever had a sick day in his life,

up to the age of seventy. In person he was of medium height, but somewhat thick-set, and would weigh perhaps two hundred pounds. He was a smart man for any kind of work, and was always active. He did much town business, being town clerk from 1786 to 1804. He was often called upon to settle estates, to act as guardian for minor children, and to adjust difficulties among neighbors, where conflicting interests were at stake. He was also at that time the only surveyor in Lynn, except Henry Oliver, and, if any land in Breed's End was sold or exchanged, he did the writing and made the deed.

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"Mr. Breed was a soldier of the Revolution, and was one of the gallant men who defended Lexington. In company with Harris Chadwell, a near neighbor, he started on the memorable 19th of April for the scene of action, and met the enemy on their return to Boston. Here from behind walls and fences he fired upon the British as they passed along, following them in their retreat. Mr. Chadwell was with him while the skirmish lasted. They remained until the enemy had left and then surveyed the field of battle. [Here they found the wounded soldier of whom mention is made under the sketch of Mr. Chadwell.]

"A genial companion was Ephraim Breed. He loved a story and a joke, and was a good story-teller himself. Many were the quips he indulged in at the expense of his associates, but he was so good-natured about it that he seldom gave offence."

The late Cyrus Houghton, who remembered Mr. Breed well, gave the following estimate of his character: "Although rather rough in his exterior, he had one of the kindest of hearts. He kept men about him and at work for him that nobody else would have or could get along with. But he knew well how to manage them. He would humor their peculiarities and control them without their knowing it, or, if necessary, by a stern command. In this way, by unbending himself at times and asserting his authority at others, he was not only master of his men, but popular with them."

Ephraim Breed was married November 14, 1762, by Rev. Joseph Roby, to Susannah, daughter of Robert and Mary Mansfield, born October 15, 1735. Susannah died September 22, 1806, at the age of seventy-one. He married, second, her sister Martha, widow of William Newhall, born March 27, 1753. She died April 10, 1822. He was a large land-owner and a rich man for those days. The old Breed house on South Street, which was his home, still stands on land which was deeded to Joseph and Samuel Breed in 1694. The house was built soon after that date, and was inherited by Ephraim. The inventory of his estate shows "a mansion house with about three acres of land under and adjoining, lying on the north side the way leading through the cow-yard by the barn; also a pasture called Pine Hill, containing 100 acres; Dungeon Pasture, Fresh Marsh, over 400 acres."

BREED, FREDERIC,—son of Allen and Huldah (Newhall) Breed, was born in Lynn, August 20, 1755. He was descended from Allen Breed and

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Thomas Newhall, two of the earliest settlers of Lynn. On the receipt of the news of the march of the British to Concord, although but a boy of nineteen, he went with Captain Farrington's company, and did duty with his neighbors.

Frederic Breed

He was married May 25, 1775, by Rev. Mr. Treadwell, to Hepzibah Cox, daughter of Thomas and Abigail Cox, born May 10, 1755. He enlisted May 9, 1775, in Captain Addison Richardson's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, and was commissioned ensign on June 7 following. His regiment was in camp at Winter Hill and vicinity until the battle of Bunker Hill, when it was ordered into action. Owing to a misunderstanding, it did not participate in the conflict. Ensign Breed remained with his regiment during the fall and early winter, after it had passed from the command of Colonel Mansfield to that of Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Hutchinson. His term of enlistment expiring January 1, 1776, he again enlisted, and was promptly commissioned as second-lieutenant by the Continental Congress. His commission, produced herewith, is on file at the Pension Office, Washington, where he placed it in his later years as evidence of his service. The bold handwriting of John Hancock is as bright upon it to-day as it was when it was affixed one hundred and twenty-six years ago. Lieutenant Breed was assigned to the company of Captain Ezra Newhall, of Lynn, and was present during the siege of Boston, entering the town upon its evacuation by the British. During the following summer Captain Newhall's company marched to New York, arriving in time to participate in the engagements around that city. After the battles of Fort Washington and Fort Mifflin he retreated across the Hudson with the army of Washington, and continued in the march across New Jersey. He was present and took part in the battle of Trenton, December 25 and 26, after which he marched to Philadelphia. There he was discharged on January 1, 1777, and made his way home to Lynn, after a campaign full of privation and suffering.

His wife Hepzibah died May 25, 1779, leaving one daughter, Betsey. He was married, second, April 13, 1780, by Rev. Mr. Treadwell, to Sarah Mansfield, daughter of Robert and Mary (Rann) Mansfield, born June 25, 1746. Their children were Joseph, Frederick, William,

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Mary, Sally, and Allen. Some time after the war he acquired the estate located at the corner of Cedar and Boston Streets, and in the house still standing his children by his second wife were born. He was a constable in 1782, and served as moderator in 1796. Although not a lawyer, Lieutenant Breed undertook a great deal of the legal work for his neighbors, and his name appears with great frequency in the settlement of estates, transfers of property, and making of wills. He was commissioned justice of the peace by Governor Caleb Strong, August 13, 1802, and again by Governor Christopher Gore, July 5, 1809. For a considerable time he was trial justice for the town, and held court in one of the upper chambers of his residence. His wife, Sarah, died August 23, 1803, and he married, third, January 10, 1805, Mary Richardson, daughter of William and Martha (Townsend) Richardson, born February 18, 1762. During his latter days Lieutenant Breed became somewhat reduced in circumstances, and applied to the government for the small pension then being granted to the survivors of the Revolution. His claim, under the act of 1818, was allowed on April 11 of that year, at the rate of twenty dollars per month. On May 1, 1820, his name was stricken from the pension rolls, together with the names of many others who were thought to be not entirely without means of support. His health, however, had been rapidly failing, and he died June 17, 1820, at the age of sixty-five. His wife, Mary, died October 19, 1820, and they were interred in one of the private tombs formerly situated along the easterly side of the old Western Burial Ground. In 1895 these tombs were removed, and the remains transferred to Pine Grove Cemetery. Here in a common lot, surrounded by six of his comrades in arms, he now rests. In 1904 a marble gravestone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were placed at his grave.

BREED, JOEL,—son of Theophilus and Mary (Newhall) Breed, was born January 28, 1755, and died January 12, 1825. No marriage is found recorded. The probate records give the fact that he was a yeoman and that his estate was left to his sister Martha.



Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Rufus Mansfield's (4th) company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, toward Concord; service, two days; also Captain Nathan Sargent's company of guards; enlisted

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February 12, 1779; discharged May 12, 1779; service, three months at and about Boston, under General Gates.—Mass. Rolls.

BREED, JOSEPH,—This name is common in the Lynn records, and there are two Joseph Breeds, either one of whom might have been the Joseph who responded to the Rhode Island alarm in 1777. It would seem that the less likely of the two was the son of Joseph and Susannah (Newhall) Breed, born January 1, 1731-32, and who would have been forty-five



or six years of age at that time, had he lived. This Joseph was married to his cousin, Ruth Breed, daughter of Matthew and Mary, January 26, 1758.

It is possible, however, if not entirely probable, that this was the "Joseph, son of Joseph," whose burial is recorded in the Lynn records as taking place July 29, 1762. This seems plausible from the fact that the births of only three children are recorded.

The other Joseph was the son of Theophilus and Mary (Newhall) Breed, and was born April 30, 1763. He was a brother of Joel, above noted. This Joseph was only fourteen years old at the time of the Rhode Island alarm, yet it was not unusual for boys of that age to go into the war. He died in Lynn, August 4, 1816, at the age of fifty-three years, and, like his brother Joel, unmarried, as it would appear, since the probate records give the fact that all his property was left to his brother Joel.

The Revolutionary record as given in the Massachusetts Rolls is as follows: Private, Captain Joseph Hiller's company, Colonel Jonathan Titcomb's regiment; arrived at camp May 5, 1777; discharged July 5, 1777; service, two months, five days at Rhode Island; roll dated Providence.

BREED, JOSIAH,—son of John and Lydia (Gott) Breed, was born December 16, 1731. He was a cordwainer and lived in Lynn. He married, first, Mary Breed, December 18, 1755; and she died May 7, 1767, aged thirty-three. He married, second, Hannah Batchelder, June 30, 1768. His death occurred December 12, 1790, at the age of fifty-eight. His wife, Hannah, survived him, "and was distracted in her mind from the time of his death to her own decease which occurred August 16, 1805, at the age of seventy-six." He had the following children, born in Lynn: Mehitable, Allen, Nathaniel, Charles, Joseph, and Mary. He is buried in a marked grave in the old Western Burial Ground.

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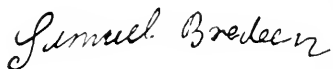
Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Rufus Putnam's (4th) company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, to Concord, service two days; reported taken prisoner and confined thirty-three days; lost his arms and equipments; also list of men who received money from public treasury for losses at battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill; allowed in Council, June 13, 1776. —Mass. Rolls.

In the orderly-book of headquarters, Cambridge, April 23, 1775, we find this entry: "Reported that Josiah Breed is a prisoner at Boston and desired that if there could be an exchange of prisoners, he may be remembered."

Frothingham, in his *Siege of Boston*, after recounting the loss of the British, says: "Lieutenant Hall, wounded at Concord Bridge, was taken prisoner on retreat and died the next day. Lieutenant Gould was wounded at the Bridge and taken prisoner, and exchanged May 28, for Josiah Breed, of Lynn." In all the published accounts of the battle of Lexington five men are reported missing, four besides Mr. Breed. On the 6th of June an exchange of prisoners took place in Charlestown, between twelve and one o'clock, according to the *Essex Gazette*. Dr. Joseph Warren and General Israel Putnam represented in part the Americans, and Major Moncrief the British. The prisoners were sent ashore from the *Lively*, and among the nine who were presented were Samuel Frost and Seth Russell, of Cambridge; Joseph Bell, of Danvers; Elijah Seaver, of Roxbury; and Josiah Breed, of Lynn,—making the five on the American side. It will thus be seen that Mr. Breed was one of the first prisoners taken in the Revolution, was confined on one of the principal British ships, and was exchanged for an officer of the British army.

BREDEEN, SAMUEL,—son of Samuel and Sarah (Narremore) Bredeen, was born in Malden, January 19, 1744, came to Lynn in October, 1765, and was warned out December 18, 1765. He died March 9, 1810, aged sixty-five, and is buried in the old Saugus Centre ground. The only Revolutionary service found is that given in the state archives, as follows:—

Private, Captain Zadock Bullinton's company, Colonel Samuel Johnson's regiment; enlisted August 19, 1777, discharged November 30, 1777, at Cambridge; service, 3 months, 12 days, at the northward.



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BROWN, BENJAMIN,—son of Ephraim and Anna (Twiss) Brown and brother of Ephraim, Rufus, Ezra, and Jonathan, all soldiers, was born November 17, 1757; died in Malden, March 15, 1833, at the age of seventy-five. Revolutionary service: In Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment (19th); order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also private, company return dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment (19th); order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money, dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775; also return of men mustered by John Cushing, muster-master for Essex County, to join Continental Army for the term of nine months, dated Boxford, December 8, 1779.—Mass. Muster Rolls.

BROWN, EBENEZER,—born in Reading, Mass., February 12, 1757, and married probably Ruth Boden, of Marblehead, February 21, 1782. Little is known of him except his service as a soldier, which he made oath to at the time of his applying for a pension, July 4, 1833. This is here given very nearly



in the words found in the Pension Office records:—

“On April 18, 1775, I belonged to a company of militia and minute-men commanded by John Brooks, of Reading, and in the evening of said day his company with other companies was ordered to march to Concord, and on the next morning, being the 19th of April, in their march for Concord, they being then in Menotomy we took a number of wagons belonging to the British forces, laden with stores and munitions of war to supply British forces on their retreat back to Boston. We captured the wagons and made prisoners of the men who drove them. I was appointed one of the guards to march with the prisoners to Medford, and they were delivered to the lawful authority to secure them, after which we again returned to Menotomy and assisted in taking care of the dead, slain by the British forces on their retreat to Boston. We then with the other guards and a promiscuous company of Americans pursued after the British forces until they reached Charlestown, after which a part of the company marched to Medford and there encamped for the night. The next morning the company commanded by Capt. Brooks, to which I belonged, marched to Cambridge, and there continued doing duty until about the first of May,

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and was then discharged. On the 2d of May enlisted in Capt. Ezra Newhall's company, in Col. John Mansfield's regiment then at Cambridge, and there did duty under command of General Ward, until some time in June following, when General Washington came to take command of the American Army. We continued to do duty from time to time at Cambridge until December 31, 1775, when I was discharged. On July 1, 1777, I enlisted as drummer in a company commanded by Capt. Thomas Townsend, of Lynn, for a term of four months, and the company marched to Boston, and was quartered on Fort Hill, doing duty in guarding stores placed on Boston Common, until Nov. 1, 1777, when discharged. Nov. 3, 1777, again enlisted, this time as substitute for Vivian Bly, of Salem, as drummer, for three months in Capt. Miles Greenwood's company, Col. Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards. We were stationed at Winter Hill over the Hessian troops, part of the army commanded by General Burgoyne, and served until time expired. On Feb. 3, 1778, again enlisted in same company and did duty as drummer until April 3, 1778."

Jonathan Upton made oath that he was with Brown, and Bowman Viles, of Lynnfield, confirmed the same. This affidavit was sworn to July 4, 1833, and pension was allowed from March 4, 1831, at the rate of \$62.40 per year, with \$156 back pay.

BROWN, EPHRAIM, —son of Ephraim and Anna (Twist or Twiss) Brown, was born in Saugus, June 19, 1743, and with his brothers Jonathan and Ezra served at the Lexington alarm. His brother Rufus was also a private in Captain Ezra Newhall's company at the same time. Ephraim and his father had both been in the service of the king in the French and

Indian War. Ephraim, Sr., appears on a billeting roll of Captain Parker's company, Colonel Nicholl's regiment, in 1758. Ephraim, Jr., enlisted in His

Ephraim Brown

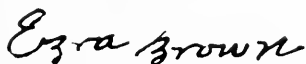
Majesty's service February 19, 1760, for the total reduction of Canada. His father at this time was in Captain Thomas Cheever's company, Colonel Fry's regiment, and served to November 2, 1760; service in Nova Scotia. Ephraim, Jr., was enlisted by Samuel Berry, and mustered at Salem, May 19, 1760, by Ichabod Plaisted, commissary of muster. He served until December 7, when he was allowed one hundred

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and five miles of travel and discharged. He enlisted again April 27, 1762, as a private in the company of Captain Jonathan Carver, and continued in service at Crown Point during most of the time until the close of the war, in 1763. He was therefore well prepared to meet the British with Captain David Parker's company, which went out on the morning of April 19, 1775. Although later service in the Revolution does not appear on the records, it is not improbable that he took some further part.

He married Mrs. Sally Inguls May 23, 1790, and they had children, Sarah, John, and Lydia. His home, at one time at least, was the house now occupied by William H. Penney, and known as the "Stephen Hall Farm." The house is at the junction of Essex Street and the Newburyport turnpike, Saugus. It has been supplied with a new roof and windows, and other modern improvements, which have completely disguised the home of the Revolutionary period. The date and place of his death is unknown.

BROWN, EZRA,—son of Ephraim and Anna (Twiss or Twist) Brown, was born in Saugus in the old Stephen Hall house, November 2, 1750, and was a brother of Benjamin, Rufus, Ephraim, and Jonathan, all of whom were in the Revolutionary War. It was long before the Revolution that his father bought the old farm in Saugus later known as the Stephen Hall place, where he and his children lived during the war, and where Ezra afterward lived and reared a large family. It was Mr. Hall, the occupant of 1860, who modernized the house in every way.



Ezra Brown was married by Rev. Mr. Roby November 25, 1779, to Jane Stocker, daughter of John and Ruth (Breed) Stocker, born May 14, 1758, and had children, Martha, Ruth, Sarah, Ezra, Marshall, Theodate, Ebenezer, James, Rebecca, and Rachel. All of these children were born before 1800. Marshall and Theodate were twins. Martha married Nathan Mudge; Ruth married Benjamin Williams; Sarah, John Mudge, who changed his name to Parker Mudge; Rebecca, Jacob Ingalls; Rachel, James Parrott; Theodate, Micajah C. Pratt; Ebenezer, Eliza Ireson; James, Rebecca Stone. The mother, Jane Stocker, died March 25, 1805. He was married, second, October 8, 1807, by Rev. Mr. Frothingham, to Mary Mansfield, daughter of Thomas

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and Mary (Hawkes) Mansfield, born June 4, 1763, and who died his widow September 6, 1849, aged eighty-six.

Ezra Brown responded quickly to the morning call of the 19th of April, and with his brothers, Ephraim and Jonathan, went with Captain Parker's company to Menotomy. On May 4, 1775, he enlisted as a drummer in Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment (the 19th), receiving advance pay at Cambridge, June 8. He was present at Cobble Hill during the battle of Bunker Hill, but the company did not go into action. He went into camp at Winter Hill during the fall, and on November 4 received the customary order for a bounty coat or its equivalent in money for having enlisted for eight months' service. He served through the siege of Boston, suffering much hardship during the bleak winter in camp. His service through the Revolution beyond this point is not recorded. He was a farmer, and an honest, upright, and industrious citizen. The sons and daughters of his large family were drawn by marriage from the western borders of the town to the eastern section where their descendants still remain prominent in many walks of life. After the war he was commissioned quartermaster of the 5th regiment, 1st brigade, 2d division, Massachusetts militia, and the commission, signed by John Hancock, November 10, 1788, is in possession of his grandson, Mr. Charles A. Brown, of Lynn. He died in Saugus, February 19, 1829, aged seventy-eight, greatly esteemed for his honesty and integrity. His will on file in the probate records indicates that he was one of the well-to-do men of those times. He is buried in the old ground at Saugus Centre beside his wife, Mary. The inscription on his gravestone is a worthy tribute: —

"This monument is inscribed to the memory of a beloved father.

He proved what virtue was and now his Lord
Has shown to him how well he can reward."

The graves are marked by slate stones, and were restored by his grandson in 1903. A marker of the S. A. R. was placed on the spot, also in 1903.

BROWN, JAMES, private, son of Jonathan and Mehitable, was born in Reading, January 28, 1743. His only service appears to have been with Captain Bancroft's company, April 19, 1775.

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He first married Lydia Nichols, of Reading, born 1748, died in Lynnfield, October 2, 1786. He was married, second, by Rev. Joseph



Mottey, July 12, 1787, to Susannah Wellman, daughter of Stephen and Susannah Wellman, sister of Jesse and Thomas Wellman. He died in Lynn-

field, January 5, 1815, and is buried in the old cemetery at Lynnfield Centre. His grave and that of his wife Lydia are marked by grave-stones. A bronze marker of the S. A. R. was placed there in 1904.

BROWN, JOHN,—was probably the son of Nathaniel and Ginger Brown, of Danvers, born April 16, 1758. Descriptive list of men raised to reinforce the Continental Army, resolve June 5, 1780; age, twenty-three; height, 5 ft., 9 in.; complexion, fresh; arrived at Springfield July 13, 1780; also list of men raised for the six months' service and returned as having passed muster in a return dated Camp Totoway, October 25, 1780; also list of men raised, resolve December 2, 1780; enlisted April 5, 1781; three years; residence, Lynn; also private, Captain John Pray's company, Colonel Joseph Vose's 1st regiment; muster-roll for May, 1781, dated West Point; also rolls for June and July, 1781, dated Phillipsburgh; also rolls for August and September, 1781, October and November, 1781, January and February, 1782, dated York Huts.—Mass. Rolls.

Letters of administration were filed May 15, 1815, on the estate of John Brown, of Lynnfield. Notice of the same was to be posted at Ebenezer Parsons's Tavern. This is the only John Brown shown on the probate records.

BROWN, JONATHAN,—private, son of Ephraim and Anna (Twiss) Brown, was born in Saugus, September 22, 1755. With his brothers, Ephraim and Ezra, he marched with Captain David Parker's company to Menotomy, and was in the "Runaway fight with the Regulars." In 1776 he removed to Salem, where he soon after married. He enlisted in



February, 1776, in Captain Benjamin Epes's company, Colonel Smith's regiment, and served until Boston was evacuated by the British, entering the

town with his company. In the fall of that year he served as sergeant in Captain John Pool's company, Colonel Cogswell's regiment. In the

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summer of 1778 he enlisted as a sergeant in Captain Nathan Sargent's company, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards. Upon the arrival at Cambridge of General Burgoyne with his army of prisoners, his company did guard duty over them for six months. He again entered the service January 26, 1779, as second lieutenant of the same company, and served until May 7, doing duty under Major-General Gates around Boston. In 1780 he enlisted in Captain Stephen Webb's company, and served eighteen months in a fort near Salem. His name was borne on the rolls of the Continental Army as late as October 28, 1783, when he appears on a pay warrant of Captain Webb's company.

On August 2, 1832, he appeared and made a deposition in regard to his service, in order that a small pension might be granted him. His old comrades, Abner Cheever, Thomas Florence, Micajah Newhall, Harris Chadwell, and Amos Boardman, had previously made oath that they had served with him in the war. As further evidence of his service, he filed his commission as second lieutenant in Captain Nathan Sargent's company, issued to him January 26, 1779, by the council. This commission and the depositions are on file in the archives of the Pension Office at Washington. Before his claim was acted upon, however, he died, August 29, 1832, at the age of seventy-six. After his death his widow, Sarah, was pensioned at the rate of \$123.33 per year, and received \$617.81 back pay. She died July 27, 1845, in Salem, leaving two children, Ephraim and Jonathan, to whom the accrued pension was paid. Jonathan Brown, Sr., was probably buried in Salem, but the spot is unknown.

BROWN, JOSHUA,—was a private in Captain Bancroft's Lynnfield company, but nothing whatever is known of him.

BROWN, RUFUS,—was son of Ephraim and Anna (Twiss) Brown, born September 5, 1744, and brother to Ephraim, Ezra, Jonathan, and Benjamin. He was published to Lydia, daughter of Ezra Burrill, September 9, 1764, married January 19, 1765. He was a cordwainer, and, according to a deed given in 1784, was at that time "of Boston."

His Revolutionary record is as follows: Private, Captain Ezra Newhall's company of minute-men which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775; service, fourteen days; also Captain Newhall's company,

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Colonel John Mansfield's regiment; order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 3, 1775; service, three months, five days; also private, Captain Zadock Buffinton's company, Colonel Samuel Johnson's regiment; enlisted August 14, 1777; discharged November 30, 1777, at Cambridge; service, three months, seventeen days, at the northward; also Captain Simeon Brown's company, Colonel Jacob Gerrish's regiment of guards; service from April 2, 1778, to July 3, 1778; roll dated Camp at Winter Hill; also Captain Samuel Huse's company, Colonel Gerrish's regiment of guards; enlisted July 19, 1778, discharged December 14, 1778; service, four months, twenty-seven days; also Captain Jeremiah Putnam's company, Colonel Nathan Tyler's regiment, enlisted July 15, 1779; service to December 1, 1779, four months and sixteen days, at Rhode Island; also same company and regiment, pay-roll for December, 1779; service, one month five days at Rhode Island.—Mass. Rolls.

BROWN, SAMUEL.—A Samuel, son of Joseph and Easter, born July 13, 1752, may have been this man, but it is not certain. He was paid a bounty of \$24 by Lynn, June 26, 1777. The Revolutionary service as given is as follows: Return of men enlisted into the Continental Army from the 1st Essex County regiment dated February 16, 1778; residence, Lynn; enlisted for the town of Lynn; joined Captain Joseph Williams's company, Colonel John Groaton's regiment (2d), enlistment three years; reported mustered by Nathaniel Barber, muster-master; also private Captain Williams's company, Colonel Groaton's regiment (3d); Continental Army pay accounts for service from June 26, 1777, to December 31, 1780; also descriptive list of enlisted men dated West Point, January 25, 1781; Colonel Groaton's (3d) regiment; age, twenty-four years; stature, 5 ft. 6 in.; complexion, dark; eyes, brown; residence, Lynn; enlisted January 1, 1777, by Lieutenant Tuttle; enlistment during the war.—Mass. Rolls.

BRUCE, LEWIS,—not accredited to Lynn, but was a resident of Lynn after the war. He lived after the death of Jedediah Newhall in the latter's house on Boston Street, and ran the mill on Waterhill Street for a time. He was born in 1762, and died in Lynn, July 2, 1828, at the age of sixty-six years. The *Lynn Mirror* at that time stated that he was one of the six Revolutionary pensioners of Lynn. He is buried in the old Eastern

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Ground, beside his wife, Hannah, who died March 10, 1836. The graves are marked.

BRYANT, JONATHAN, was probably of Sangus, born September 22, 1755, and died August 29, 1832. Nothing is known of him.

Revolutionary record: Private, Captain Ezra Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment (19th), company dated October 6, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Israel Hutchinson's regiment (19th), order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775.—Mass. Rolls.

BURCHSTED, BENJAMIN BRAME, —private, son of Dr. Henry and Mrs. Anna (Brame) Alden Burchsted, was born in Lynn, March 6, 1733-34. His father, Dr. Henry Burchsted, born 1690, was well known as a physician, and his grandfather, Dr. John Henry Burchsted, of Silesia, born 1657, was one of the famous men of his day. The latter died September 20, 1721, and his conspicuous gravestone in the old Western Burial Ground, with its quaint and lengthy inscription, has attracted the attention of the curious for nearly two hundred years. The mother of Benjamin Brame Burchsted was the daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Clem) Brame, born in Boston. Her first husband was John Alden, great-grandson of John and Priscilla (Mullins) Alden, of Plymouth.

Like his ancestors for two generations, Benjamin Brame Burchsted studied medicine. He entered upon its practice in Lynn, making his home on Boston Street between the present Wyman and Flint Streets. The house, one of the most ancient in Lynn, was demolished in 1857. He was married April 3, 1760, by Rev. Andrew Elliott, of Boston, to Elizabeth Skilling, of that place, daughter of Simeon and Ruth (Phillips) Skilling, born January 27, 1739. His children were Elizabeth, Anna, Henry, James Tyler, Ruth, Sarah, Sarah, Mary, Lucy, Benjamin Brame, Joanna, and Hepzibah. Although one of the dignitaries of the little town, he was enrolled as a member of Captain Farrington's company of minute-men, and marched with his neighbors on the morning of April 19, 1775, drawing two days' pay therefor. He saw no further military service, but continued the practice of his profession during the war. At that time the small-pox was very prevalent in Lynn and Boston, and small companies often retired to convenient places, that they might undergo the disease in a light form. In 1777 a company of nineteen men of Lynn went to Marblehead for that purpose, and

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Dr. Burchsted acted as their physician. A note in Richard Pratt's "Commonplace-Book" indicates that they all came home well, each bearing the following certificate: "M'head, June 4th, 1777. By virtue of this certificate, permit the within mention'd person, after being smok'd, to pass ye guards. John Gerry."

Dr. Burchsted's farm comprised all the land now occupied by Flint and Wyman Streets, and extended back to Walnut Street, in all about twenty acres. His grandson was Benjamin Burchsted Johnson, father of Edwin H. Johnson, so well remembered by the present generation. Dr. Burchsted lived but a short time after the Revolution, his death occurring in the summer of 1785. His will was filed for probate September 6, 1785, at which time his wife, Elizabeth, appears to have been incapacitated from serving as administratrix. Colonel John Mansfield, Colonel John Flagg, and Samuel Burrill were appointed appraisers, and according to the custom of the day made an exact minute of everything found in the estate. Thus they listed among other things "2 cupping glasses, 1 shilling; 4 dozen bottles, 8 shillings; 1½ dozen vials, 1 shilling 8 pence; mortar and pestle 3 shillings." He is buried among his ancestors in the old Western Burial Ground, where a marble grave-stone and bronze marker of the S. A. R. were erected to his memory in 1904.

BURCHSTEAD, HENRY,—son of Dr. Henry and Anna Potter, was born February 23, 1742; married by Rev. John Treadwell, May 8, 1766, to Elizabeth Newhall, who was born December 22, 1741. The estate on Boston Street, known as the "Busted Johnson" place, from its owner Benjamin Burchstead Johnson, was formerly owned and occupied by Henry Burchstead, a shoemaker, who bought it in 1770 from the last of the Potters who had held it since 1630. In 1819 he settled the

Henry Burchsted

place upon his nephew, Benjamin Burchstead Johnson, who was to care for him while he lived. The old house was one of the most ancient in Lynn, a lean-to, which was torn down in 1857. Henry Burchstead died Thursday, November 20, 1823, at the age of eighty-one years and eight months. His wife Elizabeth died Saturday, September 18, 1819, aged seventy-seven years and nine months. Their children were Frederick, Henry, and Anna.

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The only Revolutionary service known of Henry Burchstead is that which he gave on the 19th of April, 1775, when he marched on the alarm to Concord in Captain Rufus Mansfield's (4th) Lynn company.

BURNHAM, JOSHUA, son of Dr. Joshua and Anna (Poole) Burnham, was born April 29, 1757, and died at his daughter's in Wakefield, February 11, 1840. He is buried in an unmarked grave in the old burying-ground of that place. His wife was Lois Bryant, and he lived at one time upon the place afterward owned and occupied by Thomas E. Cox, who was his son-in-law. His wife died February 21, 1824, at the age of eighty-five. They had seven children.

Joshua Burnham

Joshua Burnham was a private in Captain Ezra Newhall's company which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, service, seventeen days; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel Mansfield's (19th) regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Hutchinson; muster-roll dated August 1, 1775, enlisted May 6, 1775; service, three months and two days; also company return dated October 6, 1775.

BURNHAM, TIMOTHY, son of Dr. Joshua and Susannah (Poole) Burnham, was born in 1755. He was married by Rev. Joseph Roby to Kate Sherman, daughter of Nathaniel and Susannah Sherman, February 27, 1762. Nothing further is known of him.

Revolutionary record: Private in Captain Ezra Newhall's company of minute-men which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, service, fifteen days; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's regiment, order for advance pay dated Cambridge, June 8, 1775; also Captain Newhall's company, Colonel John Mansfield's (19th) regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Israel Hutchinson; muster-roll dated August 1, 1775; enlisted May 4, 1775; service, three months, four days; also company return dated October 6, 1775; order for bounty coat or its equivalent in money dated Winter Hill, November 4, 1775. Mass. Rolls.

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The following index includes the names of persons and places mentioned in this book, with the exception of names of officers commanding the various companies and regiments, together with the names of places, which are to be found in the Biographical Sketches under the service of each Lynn soldier. Inasmuch as these names are repeatedly mentioned in the records of service, it has seemed unnecessary to further repeat them in an index. A reference to the Revolutionary record of any soldier will give the officers under whom he served and the places at which he was stationed.

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